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LE MYSTÈRE D'ADAM

AN ANGLO-NORMAN DRAMA OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

EDITED BY THE LATE

PAUL STUDER, M.A., D.Lit.

Taylorian Professor of the Romance Languages in the University of Oxford

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PREFACE

For the last half century no account of the drama in the Middle Ages, whether written from an English or a French standpoint, has seemed complete without at least a reference to the *Mystère d'Adam*. Even critics who have underestimated its intrinsic merits as a work of art have seldom failed to extol its value as a unique landmark in the evolution of the stage.

From internal evidence it would appear that the work was first produced in England about the middle of the twelfth century, and that the author was descended from one of those Frenchmen who settled in this country after the Conquest. The *Mystère d'Adam* thus belongs to that common patrimony of Anglo-Norman literature of which French and English are equally proud; and yet it has never had the honour of an English edition. Students wishing to obtain a first-hand knowledge of its contents have hitherto had to choose between French editions, long out of print and almost unprocurable, and a German edition, more recent, it is true, but in many respects unsuitable for English readers. The work of previous editors of the *Mystère d'Adam*, especially that of Dr. Karl Grass, has nevertheless considerably facilitated my task, while the criticisms on various points of detail, which have appeared in the numerous periodicals devoted to Romance philology, have likewise proved of great service. I am also greatly indebted to various friends, more particularly to Mr. D. Nichol Smith, Goldsmiths' Reader in English, Mr. C. T.

Onions, Joint-Editor of the Oxford Dictionary, and Mr. A. T. Baker, Professor of French Language and Literature in the University of Sheffield, for the assistance they have so generously rendered. Above all, my acknowledgments for many helpful suggestions are due to Professor L. E. Kastner, the Editor of the present series, and also to Professor J. G. Robertson, the Editor of the corresponding German series.

P. S.

OXFORD, *November* 1917.

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INTRODUCTION

I. The Sources of the 'Mystère d'Adam'

The serious drama of the Middle Ages grew out of the Church service.[1] The liturgy showed dramatic tendencies at a very early period. From the ninth century onward, these tendencies gradually became more marked and culminated in the eleventh in costly vestments, protracted offices, magnificent processions. The slender liturgical texts of the primitive Church appeared now wholly inadequate. In order to expand them, interpolations were made. Usually known as 'tropes,' these interpolations consisted at first of but a few words; those of the *Introit* at the beginning of Mass on great festivals, however, often took the form of dialogues. The earliest example on record is the *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicolae?* of the St. Gall MS. It dates from the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century and was regularly chanted on Easter Day. This trope soon became widely known. By the end of the tenth century it had grown into an elaborate ceremony of a highly dramatic character, the details of which are set forth in the *Concordia Regularis* drawn up by Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, during the reign of Edgar (959–75).[2]

[1] In the following pages only the merest sketch of the development of the religious drama has been attempted. For a more detailed study the reader is referred to the works mentioned in the 'Bibliography.'

[2] The document is printed almost in full in Appendix O of E. K.

Similar interpolations found their way into the ceremonial of other Church festivals, particularly those connected with Christmas. A *Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite?* was formed on the model of the Easter trope, and is commonly met with in missals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as those of St. Gall, Limoges, and St. Magloire.

At first this kind of trope was merely an alternating chant, one half of the choir asking the questions and the other giving the answers. But very soon an attempt to place it in a more elaborate setting induced the clergy to display within the precincts of the church, the manger, Joseph and Mary, sometimes even the ox and the ass. The shepherds were impersonated, then the Magi, finally Herod himself. In course of time all the elements of a fully developed Nativity play had thus been introduced.

But the tropes referred to above were not the only means adopted by the mediaeval Church to lengthen services and add to their attractiveness. The lessons for the great festivals provided an excellent opportunity for introducing into the liturgy apocryphal texts from the most varied sources. These texts, once incorporated, became in turn susceptible of extension. An illustration of this process is afforded by the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judeos, Paganos et Arianos de Symbolo*, probably written in the sixth century, but ascribed throughout the Middle Ages to St. Augustine. A portion of this 'Sermon'[1] was used in many churches as a lesson for some part or other of the Christmas services; either on Christmas Day itself, as at Arles (sixth lesson at Matins), or on Christmas Eve, as at Rome (fourth lesson at Matins).[2] In England it appears generally to have been read on the fourth Sunday in Advent. In both the

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Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, vol. ii. See also W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper* (Henry Bradshaw Society), London, 1894.

[1] Quoted in full by M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*. Paris, 1878, pp. 3–8.

[2] Cf. Chambers, ii. p. 52.

Sarum breviary and that of York, it furnishes the lessons for second Nocturn.[1]

A detailed analysis of the contents, together with several quotations from the original, is given in the notes to the present edition. Chambers has very aptly described the general character of the 'Sermon' in the following terms :

'The passage chosen is in a highly rhetorical vein. *Vos, inquam, convenio, O Judei,* cries the preacher, and calls upon the Jews to bear witness out of the mouths of their own prophets to the Christ. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon, Zachariah and Elizabeth, John the Baptist—each in turn is bidden to speak, and each testimony is triumphantly quoted. Then : *Ecce, convertimur ad gentes.* Virgil—*poeta facundissimus*—is pressed into the service, for the famous line of his fourth eclogue : "iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto"; Nebuchadnezzar, who saw four walking in the furnace, and finally the Erythraean Sibyl, whose acrostic verses on the "Signs of Judgment" first appear in the writings of Eusebius.'[2]

This lesson contained the scenario of a fine drama, and the clerk entrusted with the task of reading it no doubt emphasized its dramatic character by modulating his voice, as he gave the answers of the various prophets. As Sepet[3] suggests, the 'lectio' may have been divided among several readers, each of whom impersonated one of the prophets. The participation of several 'actors' soon became an accomplished fact. The liturgical play of St. Martial of Limoges[4]

[1] I owe this information to the Rev. H. A. Wilson of Magdalen College. It might be added that in the Sarum breviary (ed. Procter and Wordsworth) the three lessons of the second Nocturn reproduce the whole Sermon in exactly the form printed by Sepet ; whereas the York breviary (Surtees Society, vol. lxxi.) gives an abridged form only, ending after the prophecy of David, which is followed by *Omelia beati Gregorii pape.*

[2] Chambers, ii. pp. 52–53 ; see also note to line *161.*

[3] *Prophètes*, p. 10.

[4] Cf. Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, Paris, 1842, pp. 6–9.

follows the 'Sermon' closely, but converts it wholly into a dramatic dialogue. In addition it exhibits two important alterations The 'Sermon,' with the exception of the prophecy of the Sibyl, was in prose; the St. Martial version, on the other hand, is metrical throughout. Secondly, the list of the prophets is slightly altered. Not only is the order different, but Zachariah is suppressed and Israel added.

After all there was no cogent reason why the choice of characters should be restricted to those mentioned in the 'Sermon.' Many prophets of the Old Testament had as good a right to appear as witnesses of Christ, as Nebuchadnezzar, or Virgil, or the Sibyl. Balaam, it seems, was among the first to be introduced, and was soon destined to eclipse some of his seniors. But then, Balaam had a great advantage over his rivals—he was mounted on an ass, a conspicuous position, especially within the walls of a church. It should, however, be borne in mind that such grotesque sights had long been the inevitable accompaniment of the Feast of Fools. It is not improbable, as Chambers surmises, that the introduction of Balaam and his ass was a concession made to the popular craze for boisterous amusements, or an attempt on the part of the Church to turn the ribaldry of the long-established mediaeval Saturnalia to purposes of edification. Balaam closes the procession of Prophets in the Laon Drama,[1] where he is the only addition to the original 'cast.' At Rouen, on the other hand, we find him in the midst of a large company of new-comers. There are no fewer than twenty-seven prophets, but Balaam is the chief, and in his honour the whole performance was popularly styled *Festum Asinorum*.[2]

The pseudo-Augustinian Sermon could be still more expanded. Israel (Jacob) headed the procession in the St.

[1] Chambers, ii. p. 54.

[2] Rouen MS. Y 110, fourteenth century, published by A. Gasté, *Les Drames liturgiques de la cathédrale de Rouen*, Évreux, 1893, p. 4. A useful summary will be found in Sepet, *Prophètes*, pp. 27–40.

Martial text; but it was possible to go further back and introduce Abraham, whose offering of Isaac foreshadowed the atoning sacrifice of Christ, or Abel, the just man who died by the hand of the unjust; above all, Adam, who was particularly suited to usher in the procession of Prophets, for it was his fall that rendered the Redemption necessary.

Not only was the number of characters enlarged, but changes of another kind also took place. It was soon realized that the dramatic effect might be greatly enhanced if, instead of simply reciting his prophecy, one or other of the prophets was allowed to act it. This appears to have been tried first with Balaam. Already in the Laon text an angel appears on the scene and prevents the ass advancing, while the rider endeavours in vain to urge on his beast. More elaborate still is the dramatization of Nebuchadnezzar's story in the *Festum Asinorum* of Rouen. A furnace from which smoke and fire issue is constructed in the nave of the church. Nebuchadnezzar sits on his throne, surrounded by soldiers and guards. Three Hebrews are cast into the furnace, where a fourth person is seen with them. As the fire does not consume them, they are brought forth again, Nebuchadnezzar and his courtiers being deeply moved at the sight of the miracle.

Most of the prophecies were amenable to similar treatment, and as their proportions grew, they might become independent plays. Some of these survive, though often in a later form. Early examples are two dramas of *Daniel*, one of them the work of the Englishman Hilarius,[1] and perhaps also *Jacob and Esau* of the Towneley cycle, considered by ten Brink[2] as the oldest drama written entirely in English. It is not improbable that even plays (or episodes in plays) like *Abraham and Isaac*,[3] *Isaac and*

[1] J. J. Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi*, Paris, 1838, pp. 43–60.

[2] Cf. *Camb. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* v. p. 39.

[3] A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle-Plays*, 4th ed., Oxford, 1904, Appendix IV.

Rebecca,[1] *Convivium Herodis* (which suggests the story of John the Baptist),[2] *Octavian and the Sibyl*,[3] etc., may have been remodelled on early enlargements of the prophecies. But when Adam and Abel had once secured a place among the prophets, few stories lent themselves to dramatic treatment better than theirs.

Another set of characters, drawn from the same source as Balaam's ass, from popular revels and merry-makings, was yet to join the 'procession.' These were the devils. They make their first appearance on the religious stage in the *Sponsus* of Limoges (*Les Vierges sages et les Vierges folles*).[4] At the end of the play, when the foolish virgins return from a fruitless search for oil, they find that during their absence the bridegroom has arrived and welcomed home their wiser companions. As they stand clamouring at the gate, *modo accipiant eas daemones et praecipitentur in infernum*, say the concluding stage-directions. These 'daemones' undoubtedly wore an appropriate costume, although the MS. is silent on this point. Soon we shall find them parading the stage in grotesque disguise, sallying forth among the spectators, arousing terror, but also provoking merriment. They supply an intermittent interlude which marks off the various episodes of the main play, and relieve by their capers and grimaces the tedium of a long-drawn-out religious rite. Hell has now become the necessary counterpart of Paradise, and the clashing of kettles and cauldrons is heard in answer to the songs of angelic choirs. 'In the growth of these devil scenes,' says Chambers, 'may we not trace the influence of those masked and blackened demon figures who from all time had been a dear scandal of the Kalends and the Feast of Fools?'[5]

[1] *Isaac and Rebecca*, a fragmentary play from Kloster Vorau in Styria (cf. W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1893, i. p. 74).

[2] Cf. Chambers, ii. p. 60.

[3] *Octavian and the Sibyl*, an episode in the Chester plays.

[4] Cf. E. Koschwitz, *Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française*, 8th ed., Leipzig, 1913, pp. 48–53.

[5] Chambers, ii. p. 91.

Possibly the actors were the same in both cases. Petit de Julleville[1] has shown that instances are on record of professional minstrels or low comedians joining forces with their more serious confrères and taking part in the performance of religious plays.

The author of the *Mystère d'Adam* may be credited with more than average inventiveness, but it is obvious that some dramatic adaptation of the 'Sermon' was known to him. To what extent he modified it, is difficult to establish. Whether he is responsible for the introduction of Adam and Abel into the 'procession,' or whether he found them there already, cannot be finally settled until fresh evidence is brought to light. There seems, however, little doubt that he himself contributed the dramatization of their stories. To write these two scenes, the author naturally drew upon *Genesis*, and in the main followed it closely. If here and there he departed from the scriptural account, creating, for example, Eve before Adam was installed in Paradise, he did so in order to meet certain stage requirements or to heighten the general effect of the play.

He prefaced the first scene with a lesson, for the Sunday of Septuagesima, which offered a most suitable text, and relegated to the third act the original lesson from the pseudo-Augustinian Sermon. This slight derangement, however, hardly entitles us to hold with Sepet that our author knew three distinct plays, one of Adam and Eve, one of Abel and Cain, and a third of the prophets proper, and that his chief merit lay in bringing them together. Why the independent existence of these three plays should be assumed, is by no means obvious. If at Laon the prophecy of Balaam could develop into a dramatic scene, if at Rouen those of Balaam and Nebuchadnezzar both acquired elaborate proportions, why deny that the stories of Adam and Abel could similarly be dramatized, while the rest of the 'procession' retained its narrative character? The fact that Adam and Eve are

[1] *Histoire du Théâtre en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1880, ii. p. 412.

removed from the stage before Abel and Cain appear, and that after the murder the brothers likewise are carried off together, makes manifest their rôle of prophets, who in succession appear before the public, recite their prophecies, and take their departure. The case of Isaiah, with whom a Jew opens a discussion, shows in embryo the process which the poet, for reasons of his own, chose to apply more systematically to the episodes of Adam and of Abel.

Of the characters originally found in the Sermon he has retained Moses, David, Daniel, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Nebuchadnezzar, and probably the Sibyl. The suppression of Zachariah, Elizabeth, John the Baptist, and Virgil, and the addition of Aaron, Solomon, and Balaam, had probably taken place before the author's time. Like some of the great dramatic writers of a later date, he was satisfied to take a well-worn plot, finding ample scope for his imagination and superior powers in the subtle analysis of characters, the skilful handling of the dialogue, the introduction here and there of little traits revealing a sure psychological instinct or a fine artistic touch. If we read the biblical account of the Fall, and then turn to the *Mystère d'Adam*, we shall realize how much more human the characters have grown. Adam, upright in principle, but somewhat careless and inconsistent, above all timid and the reverse of heroic, discerns right and wrong readily enough when tempted by Satan, but moral courage forsakes him as soon as he succumbs to the charms of Eve. After the Fall he is paltry to a degree, blames every one but himself, and never tires of heaping reproaches upon his fair seducer. How much more attractive is Eve, the creature of impulse, easily conquered by adroit flattery. She has an inordinate craving for pleasures, glitter and pomp, and willingly imperils her soul for the ecstatic enjoyment of the forbidden fruit. If she rushes into sin more wantonly than Adam, she is more dignified in meeting her doom. Her thoughts are all for him whom she dragged down with her into misery, and for the future generations

upon whom she has brought God's wrath. But hope springs eternal in her breast, and with the spirit of faith she apprehends in the dim future the scheme of salvation and the redemption of mankind. The portrait of Satan, the arch-flatterer, is also drawn with a masterly hand. Note, for instance, how clever and versatile he is; how he varies his arguments, appealing in turn to all the passions of his victims, until at last he discovers the weak spot and breaks down their resistance.

The same skilful characterization distinguishes also the second act. The author brings out in a forcible manner the contrast between Abel, the good man, candid, unsuspecting, somewhat prone to catechizing, and Cain, the cunning farmer with an eye to the main chance, hard-working indeed, but not above cheating God of His due. As soon as Cain opens his mouth, his words reveal the selfishness of his nature, while the ugly sneer that lurks about his lips indicates from the first the coarse and brutal instincts that sway his passions. If the portrait of Eve is more finished in the detail, that of Cain lacks no essential trait; both are excellent examples of character study, an art which was seldom practised by mediaeval dramatists.

II. The Place of the 'Mystère d'Adam' in the Evolution of the Religious Drama

Before we can attempt to assign to the *Mystère d'Adam* its proper place in the history of the religious drama, one important point must be settled. The text of the Tours MS. is incomplete. It breaks off in the midst of the speech of Nebuchadnezzar. Either deliberately or through an oversight, a copyist has inserted immediately after it the *Dit des quinze signes du jugement*, which has been shown to belong to another work and is written in a different dialect (see p. xxxi (*a*)). The question, therefore, which naturally suggests itself is, How did the drama end in the original version? We have already seen how closely the *Mystère d'Adam* is related to the

pseudo-Augustinian Sermon, the Prophets of Saint Martial, and the *Festum Asinorum* of Rouen. In all these Nebuchadnezzar is immediately followed by the Sibyl, who closes the procession with an account of the Second Coming of Christ. That the *Mystère d'Adam* had a similar conclusion is therefore most likely. Perhaps after a short Latin quotation borrowed from the 'Sermon,' the Sibyl may have paraphrased in French such words as those found in the Saint Martial text, viz. :

> Iudicii signum : tellus sudore madescet ;
> E celo rex adveniet per secla futurus,
> Scilicet in carne presens ut judicet orbem, etc.[1]

Possibly this prophecy of the Second Coming of the Saviour was preceded by an announcement of His first Advent—such a combination exists in the Nativity play of Munich[2]—and the end of the performance was doubtless marked by some Latin hymn of praise, *Te Deum* or *Benedicamus*, sung by the choir and spectators. The words which close the Saint Martial drama would have been particularly appropriate :

> Letabundi jubilemus ;
> Accurate celebremus
> Christi natalitia.
> Summa letitia
> Cum gratia produxit,
> Gratanter mentibus fidelibus inluxit.[3]

As Grass suggests,[4] we should also expect further stage-directions for the concluding scene, especially regarding the behaviour of the devils, after they have carried off the last prophet.

One of the copyists, to whom the *Dit des quinze signes du jugement* was well known, may have substituted it for the simpler, and certainly much shorter prophecy of the original, thinking no doubt that he was thereby enhancing the effect

[1] Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre*, p. 9.
[2] Cf. Sepet, *Prophètes*, p. 150. [3] Monmerqué et Michel, *loc. cit.*
[4] *Das Adamsspiel*, 2nd ed., Halle, 1907, p. xx.

of the closing scene. Luckily, however, he only suppressed a very small portion of the original, probably not a hundred lines in all. Such, at all events, is the conclusion at which most scholars have arrived. Some, however, like Ward,[1] still hold that we have in the *Mystère d'Adam* but a small fragment, say, the prologue, to a great Nativity-play, or even the opening scenes of a 'dramatic representation of the entire scriptural story, after the manner of the French or English collective Mysteries of later date.' But a comparison of our text with those of Saint Martial and Rouen, the absence of any prologue foreshadowing the larger proportions of the drama, the early date at which it was written, and, above all, the liturgical character of the play, make it impossible to accept this view.

The *Mystère d'Adam* is one of the oldest and best examples of the transitional or semi-liturgical drama. The comic element introduced with Balaam's ass and the devil scenes was the first solvent which tended to loosen the tie with the Church ceremony. At Rouen the Procession of the Prophets (or *Festum Asinorum*), though still a holy office, became optional and could be omitted at the discretion of the clergy. In the *Mystère d'Adam* the liturgical character remains, clergy and choir controlling, so to speak, the whole performance; but the fact that one of the lessons is from Septuagesima and the other from Advent, while two of the responsoria (*69* and *84*) belong to the Monday after Septuagesima, shows that it ceased to be an integral part of a particular Church service, and could probably be performed at any time during the Christmas and New Year festivities. In the hands of laymen the liturgical setting, which had already lost some of its meaning and appropriateness, was soon to become the merest survival. Yet it never disappeared altogether, but lingered on as long as Miracle-plays and Mysteries continued to be produced.

The tropes and the first dramas which grew out of them

[1] *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* v. p. 11.

were entirely in Latin, the language of the Church. But the practice of introducing here and there snatches in the vernacular began very early. In the *Sponsus* of Limoges, to which reference was made above (p. xvi), the Latin text is interspersed with short metrical passages in what appears to be a Provençal dialect.[1] The plays usually ascribed to Hilarius, *e.g. Suscitatio Lazari* and *Ludus super iconia Sancti Nicolai*,[2] have a similar bilingual character, but the dialect in this case is Northern French. The *Mystère d'Adam* is the oldest extant play written almost wholly in the vernacular. The use of Latin is restricted to lessons and chants, and a few quotations from the breviary; but Latin is also employed in the stage-directions. From this we may infer that the actors, at all events the majority of them, were members of the clergy, although it is probable that Satan and his satellites were recruited among professional minstrels (see above, p. xvii). When laymen began to share in the performance of religious plays, Latin was discarded altogether. Thus we find in the first half of the thirteenth century a Resurrection-play written throughout, didascalia as well as dialogue, in the Anglo-Norman dialect.[3] The vernacular was now firmly installed in the religious drama, and although Latin plays continued to be performed as part of certain Church ceremonies, they ceased to have any effect on the evolution of the drama proper.

The parting of the ways was reached just before the appearance of the *Mystère d'Adam*, and the latter, in spite of its many ties with the liturgy, marked the first step in the direction of complete secularization. This is further illus-

[1] The dialect of the *Sponsus* has also been claimed for Northern France. See *Romania*, viii., 1879, p. 465.

[2] Ed. Champollion-Figeac, pp. 24-39. A. W. Pollard (*English Miracle-Plays*, Appendix ii) reproduces the second play.

[3] The names of characters, however, are still given in Latin, and Latin stage-directions are found in much later plays, in fact in almost all the English cycles, except the Digby Mysteries and the Coventry Corpus Christi Plays.

trated by the detailed stage-directions which the play contains. In the earliest liturgical dramas scenic decoration was reduced to a minimum. The altar sufficed to represent the sepulchre, and the clergy found among their vestments adequate costumes to impersonate prophets, angels, or even holy women. The Christmas manger, too, could be accommodated in the choir. But as the craving for spectacular display increased, it was found necessary to move to more commodious quarters. The Prophets who, in the Saint Martial drama, recited their prophecies from the altar steps,[1] in the *Festum Asinorum* of Rouen occupied the whole of the nave, so that worshippers and spectators had, perforce, to be crowded into the aisles.

The Rouen spectacle must have taxed to the utmost the adaptability of the average church to theatrical performances, and pious souls, even in those tolerant days, must have been shocked at the rowdiness and profanation which were inseparable from such displays.[2] When still more elaborate scenery was required, it became physically impossible to accommodate actors and spectators in any but the largest churches. In a cathedral there might still be found sufficient room for the performance of the drama of *Daniel*[3] with its five localities—the throne of Balthasar, the seat of the Magi, the house of Daniel, the 'locus' of Habakkuk; and the lions' den (lacus leonum). But the time was now ripe for a further change. The drama was transferred from the nave to the open space in front of the porch. There was, as yet, no intention to sever every connexion with the Church. It might still serve as, if nothing more, an admirable tiring-house. It was put to such use in the *Mystère d'Adam*, which, as far as we have any certain record, was the first religious drama of the Middle Ages to be performed out of

[1] 'Le moine se levait, s'avançait au milieu du chœur et prophétisait' (Sepet, *Prophètes*, p. 25).

[2] The ass, it should be noted, was an artificial one and concealed a youth who gave the answers to the prophet (Creizenach, i. p. 69).

[3] Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi*, pp. 43–60; also Sepet, *Prophètes*, p. 67.

doors. Fortunately, too, the Latin didascalia, which are interspersed in the text, are so explicit that, with their help, M. Sepet has been able to reconstruct the whole scene. His description is so clear and accurate that I quote it at some length :[1]

En face de nous est une église. La grande porte en est ouverte. Dans l'espace libre qui s'étend de cette porte à l'entrée de la nef, voici le chœur ecclésiastique ... composé de ministres du culte : prêtres, chapelains, chantres, assistants, enfants de chœur, vêtus de leurs habits sacerdotaux, et divisé selon l'usage en deux demi-chœurs. Ce personnage collectif doit servir à deux fins dans la représentation à laquelle vous êtes conviés. D'une part, il l'embellira par ses chants, il y remplira un rôle non pas identique, mais analogue à celui du chœur antique dans la tragédie grecque ; d'autre part, il y figurera ... les milices célestes, le chœur des anges, comme l'église où sa voix s'élève représente le ciel.

Sous le portail, devant la grande porte, on a dressé une petite chaire, un *ambon*. Dans cette chaire, devant un grand livre ouvert, voici, également en habits sacerdotaux, le *lecteur*, à la fois chef du chœur et directeur du jeu. C'est, s'il vous plaît, l'auteur, ou pour le moins l'arrangeur du drame ... Devant la chaire du lecteur et dominé par elle, à peu près au milieu du porche, un banc ou une estrade basse a été dressée. C'est là qu'au troisième acte de notre drame, les prophètes du Christ viendront successivement s'asseoir pour annoncer la délivrance d'Adam par la naissance du Sauveur. Mais sur un autre banc, placé en travers du porche, à gauche du lecteur et du banc des prophètes, quels sont ces personnages à longues barbes, à la mine farouche tout ensemble et railleuse ? Ce sont les représentants de la Synagogue, des acteurs figurant le conseil des Juifs ...

A la droite de l'église, à la gauche des spectateurs, sur un échafaud très élevé, je vous présente le paradis terrestre, auquel on parvient par plusieurs escaliers en bois, assez semblables à des échelles fixes. L'un de ces escaliers aboutit sous le porche de l'église, les autres sur la place du parvis, où le peuple est groupé. La plateforme de l'échafaud, qui offre un espace assez vaste, est environnée de courtines et de tentures de soie, disposée de telle

[1] M. Sepet, *Le Drame chrétien au moyen âge*, Paris, 1878, pp. 121–28.

façon que les personnages, quand ils se trouveront dans le paradis, ne soient vus qu'à partir des épaules. Ces tentures vous laissent pourtant apercevoir divers arbres chargés de feuillages, de fleurs et de fruits. En un mot, le paradis présente, tant bien que mal, l'aspect d'un délicieux jardin. Au milieu s'élève l'arbre de la science, qui domine tous les autres. A cet arbre est adapté un truc fort ingénieux, au moyen duquel on doit, au bon moment, voir s'enrouler autour du tronc un serpent mécanique. Ce truc doit être mis en mouvement par un comparse que dissimulent les courtines dont la plateforme est environnée...

De l'autre côté du parvis, c'est-à-dire à gauche de l'église, à la droite des spectateurs, on a figuré l'enfer qui, occupant sur la place une position très avancée, forme avec le porche une espèce d'angle plus ou moins droit. Cet enfer est tout bonnement une tour carrée, à plateforme et à créneaux, ayant une fenêtre grillée et, en guise de porte, une énorme gueule de dragon qui s'ouvre et se ferme à volonté. Il est garni de chaudières et de marmites. Par la fenêtre vous pouvez voir les démons, vêtus de peaux de bêtes, masqués de masques hideux, avec la queue et les cornes traditionnelles. A défaut des pièces d'artillerie, des arquebuses et autres admirables engins dont ils seront si largement pourvus trois siècles plus tard, du moins ont-ils au douzième siècle une assez grande quantité d'étoupes et autres combustibles, pour faire vomir, quand il le faudra, à la gueule de dragon des torrents de flammes et de fumée.

Toute la partie de la place embrassée dans l'angle que font la ligne plus ou moins horizontale, comprenant le paradis terrestre et l'église, et la ligne verticale créée par la saillie de l'enfer, forme ce que plus tard on appellera le *parloir*, ce que nous appellerions le plancher de la scène. Ce plancher est ici tout bonnement le sol même de la place. Pour la circonstance, ce sol a été surhaussé, relevé en terrasse, de façon que les acteurs soient plus en vue. On y a disposé, à quelque distance l'une de l'autre, deux grandes pierres figurant deux autels, et devant servir au double sacrifice d'Abel et de Caïn. On y a disposé deux ou trois sièges, ou bas d'échafauds. On y a enfin jeté, à un endroit quelconque, plusieurs pelletées de terre labourable, afin de figurer le champ que doivent cultiver Adam et Ève, puis leurs enfants.

Now that the drama had been transferred into the open, it was no longer necessary to restrict the size of the stage.

The ground between hell and paradise could accommodate an almost unlimited number of 'mansiones' and 'loci.' If the space before the church door was insufficient, the cemetery or the market-place could be utilized. For the convenience of the increasing number of spectators large wooden stands were erected or—as appears to have been the case in Cornwall—even permanent amphitheatres were sometimes constructed. As a rule, temporary structures were preferred, and a miniature in the manuscript of Valenciennes[1] gives an idea of the imposing dimensions which they finally attained. From the thirteenth century onward, stages on a similar pattern were no doubt fitted up from time to time in various cities, both in England and on the Continent.

In England, however, the performance of religious dramas came to be intimately connected with the feast of Corpus Christi (the Thursday after Trinity Sunday). An office was compiled for this Church festival by St. Thomas Aquinas, and the leading ceremony consisted of a great procession in which the host, escorted by local dignitaries, religious bodies and guilds, was borne through the streets and displayed successively at out-of-door stations. When the plays were transferred to Corpus Christi Day, they became more or less attached to this procession and finally were merged in the latter. The 'domus,' 'loci,' or 'sedes' were set upon wheels, and known as 'pageants,' and the performance was repeated at the various stations made by the host.[2] But before such elaborate stages, whether fixed or movable, became necessary, the religious drama had to undergo a further transformation.

Obviously the *Mystère d'Adam* did not mark the ultimate limits to which the process of expansion might be carried. In the Bible story, was not the creation of man preceded by the creation of the heavenly hosts, and the fall of Lucifer

[1] The miniature has been reproduced in facsimile, by Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la litt. fr.* tome ii, p. 416, and Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 286.

[2] Chambers, ii. pp. 95–96; A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle-Plays*, p. xxv.

and his angels? The dramatization of these two episodes provided an admirable introduction to the play, and at the same time explained to the public the nature and origin of those demons whose pranks and gambols created such a welcome diversion. A performance on those lines appears to have been given at Regensburg as early as 1194.[1] Unfortunately the text has not come down to us. On the other hand, the Old Testament, with all the legends and apocrypha which gathered round it, offered an almost inexhaustible mine from which dramatists continued to draw as late as the sixteenth century. *Le Mistére du Viel Testament*, first printed in 1542,[2] was the logical outcome of this practice. Beginning with the creation of angels and ending with the prophecies of the Sibyls (now twelve in number), it embraces, in some 49,000 odd lines, the chief episodes of the Old Testament. According to J. de Rothschild, the performance of this gigantic work was spread over something like twenty-five days.[3]

But long before this process of expansion reached the imposing dimensions found in the *Mistére du Viel Testament*, another tendency had set in, which was destined still further to modify the character of the religious drama, namely, a tendency to group together plays which hitherto had been independent. In the thirteenth century, or perhaps earlier, a Nativity-play was combined with a modified version of the 'Prophets,' the latter serving as a kind of introduction to the former.[4] Subsequently, such a combination appears to have become the rule, and we find it again in the Rouen Nativity.[5] In this play the

[1] Cf. Creizenach, i. p. 70; also Chambers, ii. p. 71.

[2] Re-edited by J. de Rothschild (*Soc. des anc. textes fr.*), vol i., 1878.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. xv.

[4] This (Latin) play was in the repertory of the 'scholares vagantes' from Benedictbeuern in Bavaria; the MS. is now in Munich (cf. Creizenach, i. pp. 96–99; Chambers, ii. p. 72; and Sepet, *Prophètes*, pp. 148–64).

[5] The MS. is dated 1474, but the text appears to be older (Sepet, *Prophètes*, p. 163).

episode of the Prophets was entirely recast. The opening scene shows Adam, Eve, Abraham, and Jacob already removed to Limbo, and there engaged in earnest conversation with Helia, the father of St. Joseph, who announces to them the approaching Advent of Christ. In France this modified form was usually retained, even when the Christmas plays were finally merged in those of Easter, and the Passion of our Lord had become the central episode of the Christian drama. Sometimes, however, as in the famous *Passion* of Arnoul Greban, the scenes of the Creation, the Fall, and the Murder of Abel were included in a kind of lengthy prologue which preceded the performance proper, whilst the latter opened in Limbo, where Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and David had an opportunity to recite their prophecies.

In England the religious drama developed on almost similar lines. It became, even more than in France, a popular form of entertainment. The great cycles which have come down to us, those of Chester, York, Wakefield, and the *Ludus Coventriae*, began with the Creation and ended with the Last Judgment, bringing into special prominence, like the French 'mystères,' the life and passion of Christ. There was, however, an essential difference between them. These 'miracles,' as they were commonly called, were not produced by 'confréries,' especially formed for the purpose, but in most cases by the corporations of large boroughs, each craft or trade-guild undertaking to act one or more scenes, which were in effect separate plays and remained more or less independent of one another. They were touched up, expanded, embellished (not always, it is true, to their advantage); but the whole drama never appears to have been completely recast, like the *Mystères de la passion* of Mercadé, Greban, or Jean Michel. 'Each cycle as it has come down to us must be regarded rather as an organic growth than as the work of a single author.'[1]

As Chambers has pointed out, 'the four northerly cycles

[1] Pollard, *English Miracle-Plays*, p. xxx.

have a kernel of common matter, which corresponds very closely with just that dramatic stuff which was handled in the liturgical and the earliest vernacular dramas. It includes the Fall of Lucifer, the Creation, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel.'[1] Equally invariable is something in the way of a *Prophetae*. But at York this is thrown into narrative instead of dramatic form (Play xii); and at Chester the typical defile of prophets is split up into sections, some of the prophets predicting the Nativity (Play v), others the Coming of Antichrist (Play xxii), while Octavian and the Sibyl constitute a separate episode (Play vi).

Thus, as long as religious dramas continued to be played, the *Processus Prophetarum*, in one form or another, maintained its position on the stage. It is no small distinction to have shown the dramatic effects that could be obtained from an apocryphal lesson and to have provided a plan which, during four consecutive centuries, countless playwrights were content to retain. But this does not constitute the sole or, indeed, the chief merit of the *Mystère d'Adam*. As a precious link between the liturgical play, written in Latin and performed in the Church on the one hand, and the fully secularized drama with lay actors and elaborate stages on the other, its importance cannot be over-estimated. More than this, its qualities are intrinsic as well as relative. As a work of art it bears comparison with the best dramatic productions of the Middle Ages.

III. Manuscript and Editions

The *Mystère d'Adam* has come down to us in a single manuscript, now in the Library of the City of Tours (No. 927 in Dorange's *Catalogue*),[2] described by Luzarche, the first editor, as follows:

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[1] Chambers, ii. p. 125.

[2] A. J. Dorange, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des MSS. de la Bibl. de Tours*, Tours, 1875, p. 409.

Le manuscrit dans lequel est renfermé le drame d'Adam, est un in-octavo de forme carrée, écrit sur un papier de coton, probablement d'origine orientale. La contexture de ce papier, dont les spécimens doivent être très rares, même dans les plus riches bibliothèques, mérite toute notre attention. Quoique composé de matières molles et spongieuses, il a conservé une grande consistance et une remarquable uniformité d'épaisseur, et a reçu sur ses deux faces une préparation particulière qui lui donne presque le poli du parchemin, et le rend très propre à recevoir l'écriture. Il est évident que l'ouvrier en le fabriquant, s'était proposé l'imitation de la peau de vélin, qui était généralement en usage dans l'Occident à cette époque.[1]

It consists of 229 leaves, measuring 145 × 105 millimetres, and was probably written in the South of France, by the same hand throughout, not earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. Such, at all events, is the opinion of L. Delisle[2] and of Dorange, the author of the catalogue of Tours. On the other hand, V. Luzarche, and after him W. Foerster, expressed his conviction that the volume was written in two sections by different hands, the first 46 leaves (including *Adam*) dating from the second half of the twelfth century, and the remaining portion from the beginning of the thirteenth.[3]

The manuscript contains a miscellaneous collection of texts, some of which are unmistakably of Anglo-Norman origin, while the last item is in a Provençal dialect. They have been described in detail on various occasions, and are as follows :

(*a*) Folio 1 : a liturgical drama of the Resurrection, in Latin, with musical notes, published by V. Luzarche, *Office de Pâques ou de la Résurrection*, Tours, 1856, and also by de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, Rennes, 1860, pp. 37–48.

[1] V. Luzarche, *Adam, drame anglo-normand*, Tours, 1854, pp. v–vi.

[2] *Romania*, ii., 1873, p. 95.

[3] Cf. V. Luzarche, *Adam*, pp. vii f. ; L. Delisle, *Romania*, ii. pp. 92 f. ; Dorange, *Catalogue*, p. 409 ; K. Grass, *Adamsspiel*, 2nd ed. pp. ix f.

(*b*) Folio 8 : 36 Latin hymns and songs, published by V. Luzarche in his edition of *Office de Pâques*, p. 28.

(*c*) Folio 20 : the *Mystère d'Adam*.

(*d*) Folio 40ᵛ : the *Quinze signes du jugement*, copied immediately after the *Mystère d'Adam*, as if it were part of the latter. It was considered as such by the first editors, Luzarche and Palustre. Grass printed it in appendix to his first edition, but suppressed it in the second. This or similar versions have been preserved in no less than 18 MSS. (see *Romania*, vi. pp. 22 f.; viii. p. 313; ix. p. 176). Some of these have been edited, *e.g.* MS. 354 of Berne, by Konrad Hofmann in *Anzeige der Bairischen Akademie*, 1860, Nos. 44–45; the Provençal version in MS. Harl. 7403, Brit. Museum, by H. Suchier in *Denkmäler der provenzalischen Literatur*, Halle, 1883, i. pp. 156–64.

(*e*) Folio 47 : *Vie de Saint George*, published by V. Luzarche in the same vol. as *La Vie de la vierge Marie . . .*, pp. 93–117.

(*f*) Folio 61 : Wace's *Vie de la Vierge Marie*, published by V. Luzarche, *La Vie de la Vierge Marie de maître Wace . . . suivie de la vie de Saint George, poème inédit du même trouvère*,[1] Tours, 1859. There are several other MSS. of this work; one of them was published by Mancel and Trebutin, *L'Établissement de la fête de la Conception de Notre-Dame*, Caen, 1842. See also *Romania*, vi., 1877, p. 10.

(*g*) Folio 109 : *Vie de Saint Grégoire*, published by V. Luzarche, *Vie du pape Grégoire le Grand*, Tours, 1857.

(*h*) Folio 185 : the *Distichs of Cato*, translated into French verse by Adam de Suel. In his introduction to *Adam* (pp. xxxiii f.) V. Luzarche has given a few extracts of this poem, which is fragmentary in the Tours MS.—the beginning is missing. There are at least twelve other MSS. of Adam de Suel's translation. See *Romania*, vi., 1877, p. 20.

(*i*) Folio 205 : *Vie de Sainte Marguerite* (introductory

[1] Weber (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, v., 1880, p. 498) questions Wace's authorship and assigns the poem to about the year 1200.

portion missing), published by A. Joly, *La Vie de sainte Marguerite, poème inédit de Wace*, Paris, 1879. See also *Romania*, viii., 1879, p. 275, *Notes et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxxiii. pp. 1, 19, and *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, v., 1880, p. 51, where three other MSS. are described.

(*j*) Folio 217 : *Miracle de Sardenay* (also preserved in a more complete form in two other MSS.), published by G. Raynaud, *Romania*, xi., 1882, pp. 519–37 ; xiv., 1885, pp. 82–93 ; and xv., 1886, p. 354.

(*k*) On the last page (folio 229^{v}) are the first four quatrains of an *Épître farcie de Saint Étienne*, a Provençal text closely resembling that contained in the MS. of Saint Guilhem du Désert published by G. Paris in *Romania*, x., 1881, p. 218. The original appears to have been written in a dialect of the langue d'oïl. See also *Romania*, ii., 1873, p. 91 ; ix., 1880, p. 155, and *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.* iv. p. 99.

As stated above, the *Mystère d'Adam* occupies folios 20^{r} to 40^{r} of the MS. The writing is careless and not easy to read (Luzarche, p. lxix). On the first five leaves (folios 20^{r} to 25^{v}) the verses are written in long lines like prose, but from the top of folio 25^{v} (*i.e.* from v. 315 onward) a fresh line has been assigned to each verse. The handwriting is somewhat smaller after verse 387.

After the labours expended on this text by so many scholars,[1] there is clearly little left for a late-comer to glean. If in a few instances I have been able to suggest further improvements, my task has in the main been to sift the evidence adduced by others, examine rival claims, and adopt the emendations which best satisfied the exigencies of language, metre, and context. I have indicated the sources of all but obvious corrections, and have mentioned discarded variants in the foot-notes.

It would have been comparatively easy to standardize the spelling of the text and to remove more of the vagaries

[1] A detailed account of previous editions is given under 'Bibliography.'

for which the scribes may be responsible. But the Anglo-Normans were notoriously bad spellers ; and it is by no means certain that the original writer of the *Mystère d'Adam* adhered to a uniform system of orthography. The evidence rather points the other way. He certainly did not assign constant values to the symbols *o* and *u*, and it would have been futile to attempt any discrimination between them. On the other hand, the sounds *ei* and *e*, *ei* and *oi*, *ei* and *ai* (except before a nasal), *ie* and *e*, are so carefully kept apart in the rhymes, that it is hard to believe that the author confused them in writing. There is evidence that the scribe of the Tours MS. is responsible for the substitution of *oi* for *ei* in some cases at least. Copying hurriedly he wrote *toi dirrai*, after v. 85 ; then discovering that he had missed three lines, he crossed out the passage and re-wrote it later as *tei dirrai*. He likewise altered *savoir* 123 into *saveir*, while in *flamboie* 517 and *voie* 518 he appears to have added *o* as an afterthought. I have therefore felt justified in restoring *ei* throughout.[1]

A superficial examination of the poem makes plain the fact that the declension with two cases had already broken down in the original, even if not to the extent revealed by the Tours MS. As it would have been too arbitrary to differentiate between the blunders of the scribes and those of the author, it has, in most cases, seemed preferable to accept the reading of the MS. For similar reasons the indiscriminate use of the pronouns *le* and *li*, *que* and *qui*, *tuit* and *tut* or *tot* has also been retained. With regard to the conjugation, the confusion of the second person singular and the second person plural is not uncommon in Old French dialects, but particularly frequent in later Anglo-Norman. It would have been simple enough to introduce the correct number throughout, but this has only been done where, for the sake of the metre, an emendation was imperative.

[1] As the advisability of such a change may be questioned, the spelling of the MS. has in every case been given in the foot-notes. G. Paris adopts *oi*, see 'Bibliography.'

In order to avoid confusion, I have substituted *qu* or *c* for *ch* (=k), *e.g. onques* for *onches* 373; *donques* for *donches* 890; and *j* for *g* (=j) before *a*, *o*, or *u*, *e.g. jardin* for *gardin* 244,[1] *manjues* for *mangues* 261. I have also followed the practice of previous editors in introducing modern punctuation, the distinction between *v* and *u*, *i* and *j*, and the use of diacritics.

I regret that circumstances arising out of the war have prevented me from comparing the text once more with the original. Fortunately the careful collation of W. Foerster has rendered the task almost superfluous.

IV. The Language

That the Tours MS. does not contain the text of the *Mystère d'Adam* in the author's own hand, is sufficiently proved by the miscellaneous nature of its contents. The copyist belonged doubtless to Southern France; otherwise he would hardly have included a Provençal text in his collection.[2] His chief source appears to have been some Anglo-Norman MS., which under the Plantagenets, possibly during the reign of John, or Henry III., might easily have reached Aquitaine. In it the text of the *Mystère d'Adam* had already undergone considerable alterations. It was, moreover, badly written or in so damaged a condition that certain passages could no longer be deciphered. To recover the primitive version we must endeavour to remove the errors emanating from these two sources—the Provençal scribe on the one hand, and the Anglo-Norman scribe (or scribes?) on the other.

In a general way we may safely ascribe to a Frenchman of the South:[3]

[1] This change is justified by the spellings *jardin* 82, and *jardenier* 182.

[2] 'La présence de ce texte provençal dans le manuscrit, la nature du papier et le caractère de l'écriture, tout se réunit pour faire supposer que le recueil a été copié dans le midi de la France. . . .' (L. Delisle, *Romania*, ii., 1873, p. 95).

[3] Suchier first drew attention to the presence of many Provençal forms

(*a*) The use of atonic *a* for *e*, *e.g.* *lassaras* 55, *estas* 114, *mala* 439, *natura* 780, *terra* 783 ; perhaps also *sevals*[1] 226.

(*b*) The retention of final *c* in *foc* 934, *fouc* 935, 938.

(*c*) The suppression or addition of *n* at the end of a word, especially the confusion of *nen* and *ne*, *quen* and *que*, *men* and *me*, *ten* and *te*, *sen* and *se*, etc.

(*d*) The omission of the final dental in *sen* (1 sg. of *sentir*) 114 ; *pren*, 69, 263, 573 ; and *respon* 883.

(*e*) The use of z for intervocalic *d* in *tarzera* 558, 918 ; perhaps also the spellings *friczion* 52, *forzor* 44, *halzor* 290, *comenza* 916, etc.

(*f*) A further confusion of the spelling, *e*, *ei*, *ai*, *oi*—these spellings having already to some extent been confused by Anglo-Norman copyists (see below and p. xxxvii (*i*)).

(*g*) The frequent interchange of the prepositions *por* and *par*, probably due to the fact that the abbreviations were misunderstood by the scribe.

(*h*) The introduction of such Southern French words as *limo* 2, *fraiture* 586.

(*i*) The confusion of *cuer* (< cor) and *cors* (< corpus), *e.g.* *cor* 900 and *cors* 28, for which *cuer* should be substituted.

But before the text reached the South of France, it had already undergone great changes at the hands of one or more Anglo-Norman scribes. These changes probably included :

(*a*) The confusion of *ai* (*ę*) and *ei*, e.g. *feit* 5, 183 ; *pleisir* 47 ; *mesfeite* 563 ; *seiez* (sapis) 125. In the rhymes these two sounds are kept distinct—*plait* 346 (: *droit*) is certainly corrupt.

(*b*) The spelling *a* for *ai*, which has not been recorded before the thirteenth century ;[2] examples are fairly numerous :

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in the text on p. 686 of his exhaustive review of Grass's first edition (see 'Bibliography').

[1] It is more likely, however, that *sevals* is merely a mistake for *seveals*. See p. xlvi.

[2] Cf. L. E. Menger, *The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, New York, 1904, p. 45 ; A. Stimming, *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Hauntone*, Halle, 1899, p. 195.

crerra 313; *tra* 365; *sa* 367; *a* 745. On the other hand, *aie* for *ai* only occurs once in *aienz* 167.

(*c*) The fall of pretonic *e* in hiatus (often spoken of as characteristic of Anglo-Norman, although it did not become general before the thirteenth century[1]), *e.g. pecchor* 315 (but *peccheor* 95); *chaite* 318; *duses* 396; *maleit* 473, 736; *maleite* 429; *malait* 434; *miror* 898. In all these cases the metre requires the retention of the *e*.

(*d*) The fall of pretonic *e* before a consonant (even more characteristically Anglo-Norman than the fall of pretonic *e* in hiatus); it occurs very frequently in the future of *faire*, *e.g. frai* 7, 41, 48, 121, etc.; *fras* 159, 165, 661, 674; *fra* 285, 488, etc.; *frez* 493; *frunt* 836; but here again the *e* was still sounded in the original.

(*e*) The fall of post-tonic *e* (a common phenomenon already in twelfth-century Anglo-Norman), *e.g.* after vowels or diphthongs: *changé* 319; *gusté* 505; *blastengé* 559; *reproché* 560; *oï* 841; *troublé* 842; *esgardé* 843; *trenchié* 850; *trai* 352; *avois* 395; *frai* 570; *volei* 753; after consonants: *tut* 32; *bon* 312; *mal* 322, 371; *mesfait* 461; *long* 582; *ferm* 598; *mis* 610; *cest* 843; *escrit* 892; *cler* 936; in the imperative: *honor* 29; *aim* 37; *escult* 129; *escut* 187. In all these cases the metre requires the restoration of the *e*; but the feminine pronoun *el* (by the side of *ele*) belongs to the original.

(*f*) The development of parasitic *e* (very frequent in Anglo-Norman, but not confined to that dialect), *e.g.* between *v* and *r*: *beveras* 53; *averas* 54; *averez* 264, 267, 505; *averont* 602, 839; *averunt* 812; *saveras* 295, 300, 553, 686; *viveras* 476; *concevera* 919; *recoverer* 496; but *avras* 53, 737; *avrat* 426; *avrez* 503; *avront* 507, etc. Only forms without *e* belong to the original.

(*g*) The change of pretonic *e* into *i*, e.g. *fiel* 12 (but *feel* 45, 825); *devia* (vb. *deveer*) 152.

[1] Early instances from the *Passion of St. Andrew* (? end of twelfth century) have been pointed out by A. T. Baker in *Mod. Lang. Review*, xi., 1916, p. 425.

(*h*) The change of pretonic *e* to *a* in such words as *asaer* 612 (= *aseeir* or *asseeir*); *maïme* 658. This change is very common in the thirteenth century, but in certain combinations occurs earlier. See p. xl (*g*).

(*i*) Confusion of *ei* and *oi*. In Anglo-Norman etymological *ei* probably never became assimilated in sound to *oi* (< *o* or *au* + *j*). Instances of rhymes *voie* (via) : *joie* do not occur before the thirteenth century; even then they are rare and probably not pure rhymes.[1] In our text *safoloie* 60 (: *oie* : *poie* : *joie*) is certainly corrupt. On the other hand the spelling *oi* for *ei* (a mere orthographic change) is found sporadically in twelfth-century Anglo-Norman texts. It gradually gained favour in the subsequent period. In *Boeve* the spelling *oi* occurs about as frequently as *ei*;[2] in our MS. the proportion is decidedly in favour of *oi*. This preponderance of *oi* is doubtless due to alterations at the hands of successive scribes, Anglo-Norman and Provençal.

(*j*) The reduction of *ie* to *e*, and *ien* to *en*, which by the end of the twelfth century became one of the chief characteristics of the Anglo-Norman dialect. The actual reduction in sound, however, did not take place before the middle of the twelfth century, and in our text *ie* never rhymes with *e*, except in *bel* : *ciel* 938, an obvious interpolation. The spelling *ie* must therefore be restored in *manger* 148, 436; *l'autr'er* 175; *muiller* 277, 439; *devé* 403; *guerreer* 440; *moiller* 422, 423; *pecché* 460, 816; *pité* 512, 803; *pecchez* 520; *aez* 627; in the suffix *-arium*, e.g. *encombrer* 331; *recov(e)rer* 496, 526; *provender* 176; finally in *ben* 2, 12, 14; *ten* 299.

(*k*) The spelling *oun* for *un* or *on*, which according to Stimming (*op. cit.* p. 191) is not met with before the beginning of the thirteenth century: there is only one example, viz. *noun* 10 (but *nun* 82, *non* 593).

[1] The poem of the *Passion of St. Andrew* (*loc. cit.*), however, contains the rhymes *crois* (crucem) : *crois* (credis) 431 : *rois* (rex) 477, etc., and uses the spelling *oi* throughout.

[2] Cf. Stimming, p. 198.

(*l*) The change of *ou* (ǫu) to *eu* in *deus* 607, *ambedeus* 16 (but *dous* 240, 591, 609, 620, etc.), *feu* 818 (but *fu* 361), the spelling *eu* being rare even in thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman.[1]

(*m*) The spelling *ou* for pretonic *ǫ* which occurs four times only, i.e. *fourmé* 1, 4; *fourmee* 17 (but *formé* 50, *formas* 74, *forma* 185, *formai* 407) and *aourer* 860. Also in the adv. *ou* (ubi) 427 (but *u* 723), and the conj. (aut) 728, 884, etc.

(*n*) The rhyme *ue* : *e* (< a) in *cuer* : *luër* 659 : 60. The passage is obviously faulty, and as such rhymes have not been recorded earlier than the thirteenth century, it seemed best to adopt Tobler's emendation.

(*o*) Confusion of *u* and *i*. Apart from the learned word *rimor* 734, it is only instanced in the rhyme *tue* : *vie* 739 : 40, where the scribe appears to have substituted *tue* for *occie*.

(*p*) The use of pronoun *lui* for *li* in dative feminine (not recorded before thirteenth century).[2] As it only occurs once in the text (v. 13), it can safely be imputed to a scribe.

(*q*) A preference for the lengthened forms of the demonstratives, i.e. *iço*, *icist*, *icest*, *itel*, etc., when the metre clearly demands *ço*, *cist*, *cest*, *tel*, etc.

(*r*) The interchange of conjugations (which became a characteristic of later Anglo-Norman). The reduction of *ei* to *e* facilitated, since the middle of the twelfth century, the passage of infinitives in *-eir* to the *-er* class. In our text the spelling *mover* 6; *saver* 115, 116, etc. (but *saveir* 158; *savoir* 687); *veer* 402, 524; *aver* 538, 616, etc.; *maner* 523; *asaer* 612, etc. are mere orthographic changes; in no case are these words found to rhyme with etymological *-er*.[3]

[1] Cf. Menger, p. 68; Stimming, p. 206.

[2] Cf. Stimming, p. xxii.

[3] P. Meyer considers that the four verbs *aver*, *poer*, *saver*, and *voler* were the first to be assimilated to the *-er* conjugation (cf. *Les Contes moralisés de N. Bozon*, Paris, 1889, p. lxiv). The fact that in our text *poeir* 515 is retained by the side of *maner* 523, *asaer* 612, while double forms *saver* and *saveir* occur side by side, further points to haphazard changes on the part of the scribe.

(*s*) The confusion of present and preterite tenses in the conjugation of *faire*, e.g. *fais* 699, 714, 735; *faistes* 797, 799, where context and metre require respectively disyllabic *fesis* and trisyllabic *fesistes*.

(*t*) A tendency to replace the future by a construction with *voleir* + infinitive, destroying thereby the metre, e.g. *gieter nus voldra* (= *nus gietera*) 590; *voldra aeus susciter* (= *deus resuscitera*) 771; perhaps also *par ceste porte volez entrer* (= *enterrez*) 859.

(*u*) The confusion of the second person singular and second person plural, though probably present in the original, was certainly aggravated by the scribe.

(*v*) The substitution of *ensi*[1] for *si* and of *ovec* for *od*. Grass has shown that in three cases out of four (*i.e.* vv. 673, 870, 873) the metre requires *od* instead of *ovec*. This makes it likely that in v. 70 *ovec* should be replaced by *si od*.

Having thus removed from the text two groups of corruptions, let us now examine the language of the restored original. Such an examination has already been undertaken by Grass in his first edition and revised in his second edition. But Grass has not drawn a clear distinction between the language of the original and that of the Tours MS. In his endeavour to be thorough, he has failed to lay sufficient stress on essential features, and often obscured them by a mass of details. His treatment may be exhaustive, but it is somewhat bewildering even to the advanced student. It will, therefore, not be without value to put the matter in a simpler and more practical form.

In setting forth the characteristic features of the original language of the *Mystère d'Adam*, I shall follow, in the main, the order adopted by L. E. Menger (*op. cit.*), and start from the Vulgar Latin, rather than as Grass did from the Old French (Francien) sounds.

[1] *Ensi* is commonly found in A.-N. texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, e.g. *Boeve* (ed. Stimming) 1047, etc.; *Oak Book of Southampton* (ed. Studer), ii. p. 74.

Phonology

Vowels. **A.** (*a*) Tonic free *a* > *e*, which rhymes neither with *ẹ* (< ĕ) nor with *ẹ* (< ē, ĭ), but only with itself.

(*b*) *A* before a palatal > *ai*. In our text this had already ceased to be a diphthong and, whether followed by one or several consonants, rhymed freely with *ẹ*, e.g. *maistre* 258, 310 (: *estre*) ; *relais* 678 (: *apres*). The spelling *e* occurs extensively for etymological *ai*, e.g. *mes* 180, 522, 554, etc. ; *fet* (*factum*) 182, 391, 449, etc. ; *mesfet* 348 ; *fet* (*facit*) 524 ; *forfet* 572 ; *fere*, 684 ; *nestre* 909.

(*c*) *A* after a palatal > *ie* assimilated in sound to *ie* (< ẹ, or j + e), e.g. *vergugnier* 396 (: *autr'ier*) ; *chier* 33 (: *mullier*) ; *mangier* 421 (: *mollier*) ; *guerreier* 440 (: *mullier*).

(*d*) *A* before a nasal in free position > *ain*. In Anglo-Norman the confusion of *ain* and *ein* took place earlier than in Francien. It was an accomplished fact in the original version of our text, as is shown by the rhymes *fain* (fenum) : *certain* 851 : 52 ; *paine* (poena) : *semaine* 501 : 02 ; *enseigne* : *feigne* : *pleigne* 619 : 622.

From the above examples it is abundantly clear that the spellings *ain* and *ein* were used indiscriminately.

It should further be noted that *ain* also rhymes, on the one hand, with *an*, e.g. *pan* (< panem) : *hahan* 435 : 36, and on the other, with *en*, e.g. *defens* : *mains* (manus) 149 : 50, although *an* and *en* never rhyme together.[1]

(*e*) *A* before a nasal in checked position > *an*. No confusion takes place between the spellings *an* and *en*, and, as stated above (*d*), rhymes *an* : *en* do not occur in the text.

(*f*) *A* before *l* regularly gave *el*, e.g. *ostel* 645, but in endings -alem, -alum *a* was more frequently retained in Anglo-Norman than in Francien, e.g. *egal* 67, 270 ; *charnal* 779 ; *mortals*, 873 ; *celestial* 252, 874 ; *leal* 68.

(*g*) Pretonic *a* > *e*. This *e* was still pronounced by the

[1] Grass (p. xxxix) questions the genuineness of verses 149–50, but apart from the rhyme *defens* : *mains*, there is no ground for suspicion.

author of the *Mystère d'Adam*, e.g. *peccheor* 95 ; *eage* 98 ; *seurement* 128, 302 ; *veer* (vetare) 168, etc., although later scribes have suppressed it in some cases. (See p. xxxvi (*c*), (*d*).)

Not infrequently *a* is found instead of *e* both before vowels and consonants, e.g. *bonaürté* 499 ; *salvaor* 925 ; *ascute* 239 (but *escote* 49 ; *esculte* 129 ; *escute* 187) ; *paraïs* 210.

A even occurs for pretonic *e* in *asai* 286 and *traüage* 464, spellings which probably belong to the original. But see p. xxxvi (*h*).

Ę. (*a*) Tonic free *ę* > *ei*, rhymes neither with *oi*, nor with *ai* and *ę*. The spellings *oi*, *ai* and *e* for *ei* are attributable to scribes and have been discarded in the present edition.

(*b*) Before *l*, *ę* was apparently assimilated quite early to *ęl* in Anglo-Norman, particularly in *ceals* (found in MS. (L) of the *Computus* of Philippe de Thaun, although eliminated by the editor ; in *Roland*, etc.). *Ceals* occurs twice in the *Mystère d'Adam*, v. 459 and v. 557 (in the latter case the MS. has *eals*), but the spelling *cels* is more common, *e.g.* vv. 555, 801, etc. As, however, it never occurs in the rhyme, it is difficult to ascertain its pronunciation.[1]

(*c*) Pretonic *ę*. (See below.)

Ę. (*a*) Tonic free *ę* > *ie*. In our text it rhymes with *ie* (< *a*) (see p. xl (*c*)), but never with *e*, the couplet after 938 being certainly interpolated. The spelling *e* for *ie* is due to a scribe.[2] (See p. xxxvii (*j*).)

(*b*) *Ę* before a nasal > *ien*, which never rhymes with *en*. The spellings *ben* 2, etc., *ten* 299, etc., must be discarded. (See p. xxxvii (*j*).)

(*c*) Pretonic *ę*, as well as pretonic *ę*, was retained in the original either as *e* or as *a* (see p. xl (*g*)) ; its occasional disappearance in the spelling is due to later scribes. (See p. xxxvi (*c*), (*d*).)

(*d*) On the other hand, *e* before *s* + consonant was occa-

[1] Cf. Menger, pp. 54, 58 ; H. Suchier, *Altfranzösische Grammatik*, p. 82.

[2] J. Vising (*Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.* xxxix., 1912, p. 11) has shown that in the *Mystère d'Adam* there are 40 rhymes in *e* and 19 in *ie*.

sionally absent, e.g. *spee* 517 ; *sperance* 587, 747 ; *steille* 817, 853 (but *esteille* 823, 848) ; *scole* 856 (but *escole* 220) ; *studie* 867. The forms without *e* only occur after a vowel.

Ǫ. (*a*) Tonic free *ǫ* is usually written *o*, e.g. *amor* 23 ; *honore* 29 ; *creator* 29 ; *seignor* 30, etc. ; but *u* is also a common spelling, e.g. *creatur* 8 ; *vus* 22 ; *irur* 93 ; *freür* 94, etc. Although generally spelt *o*, etymological *ǫ* never rhymes with *o* (< ŏ, au), but it rhymes with *u* (< ū), and can, therefore, hardly have been a diphthong. Probably it had the sound of *u* in Latin (cf. p. xliii (*a*)).

(*b*) Ǫ before a palatal is invariably written *ui* in our text, e.g. *reconuis* 30 ; *anguisse* 456 ; *cruiz* 810.

In pretonic position *ui* is occasionally replaced by *u*, e.g. *conustrai* 43 ; *pussance* 590 ; but *quidai* 175, 577 ; *quidas* 415, 443 : *quidat* 168 ; *puissance* 270 ; *puissant* 308, 942 ; *bruiant* 936.

(*c*) Ǫ before a nasal > *un* or *on*, the former predominating. *Noun* 10 does not belong to the original version (see p. xxxvii (*k*)). *Ǫn* and *ǫn* were by this time identical in sound, as is shown by the rhymes *pome* : *home* 305 : 06 ; *homme* : *somme* 771 : 72. It should, however, be noticed that *ǫn* is never spelt *un*, except in the third person plural ending of the future.

(*d*) Pretonic *ǫ* is either *o* or *u*. The spelling *ou*, where it occurs, has been introduced by a scribe. (See p. xxxviii (*m*).)

Ǫ. (*a*) Tonic free *ǫ* > *ue*, only after *c*, e.g. *cuer* 268, 601, 659, 844. In other positions it is usually replaced by *oe*, which has been regarded as a mere orthographic device on the part of scribes to distinguish *ue* (= ue < ǫ) from *ue* (= ve),[1] e.g. *poez* 51, 101, 140, etc. ; *poet* 115, 137, 694, etc. ; *voels* 198 (but *vols* 116, 199, *vo[l]s* 27) ; *voelt* 225 ; *estoet* 332 ; *iloec* 337 (but *iloc* 336) ; *noef* (novem) 663 ; *oef* 664.

Not infrequently *o* occurs instead of *ue* or *oe*, thus, besides the examples given above, *prove* 689 ; *pople* 819, 835 ; *ovre* 843, 844.

The rhymes do not help to ascertain the nature of the

[1] Cf. Menger, p. 74 ; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, vol. i. § 211.

sound, as tonic free *ǫ* only rhymes with itself, e.g. *noef* : *oej* 663 : 64 ; *ovre* (opera) : *ovre* (vb. *ovrer*) 843 : 44 ; nor can any conclusion be drawn from *cuer* : *luër* 659 : 60, as the passage is certainly corrupt. (See p. xxxviii (*n*).)

(*b*) Ǫ before *i* or a palatal > *oi*, e.g. *poisset* 92 ; *enoit* 114 ; *poisse* 139 ; *pois* (=postea) 166, 839, 852 ; *despois* 505 ; *pois* (=possum) 578 ; *oi* (hodie) 704 ; *noit* (noctem), 438, 638. Instead of *oi*, *ui* is found in *puis* (=possum) 115, 148, 344, 369, etc. ; *puis* (=postea) 167, 267, 671, 910, 912. These alternative spellings, together with such rhymes as *deduit* : *enoit* 113 : 14, show sufficiently that Latin *ǫ* + *i* and *ū* + *i* gave in the language of the author one and the same sound. (See p. xliv (*b*).)

(*c*) Ǫ before a nasal > *on*, e.g. *bon* 9, 295 ; *home* 93, 306, etc. ; *hom* 94, etc. ; *bone* 220, 258, etc. ; *somont* 861 ; *honte* 393, 401 ; *conte* 394 ; *amont* 862. Although the sound freely rhymes with *ǫn* (see above, p. xlii (*c*)), it is never spelt *un*, except in the third person plural ending of future, e.g. *perdrunt* 838, etc. ; *ferunt* 836, etc. ; *porrunt* 814, etc. ; *av*(*e*)*runt* 812, etc. ; but *avront* 839, etc. ; *prendront* 802 ; *mettront* 837, etc.

In free position *uen* (or *oen*) is commonly found for *on*, especially in earlier Anglo-Norman texts,[1] but the *Mystère d'Adam* offers only one example of this spelling, viz. *toen* (accented possessive) 98, 460, 542, 556, 616, but *ton* 47, *son* (=*soens*) 825.

Ụ. (*a*) Generally written *u* in our text, but *o* is not uncommon, e.g. *chescons* 92, 665 ; *dor* 800 ; *dors* 223 ; *dore* 320 ; *engendreore* 584 ; *dorges* (subjunct. of *durer*) 740. There is no reason to think that this alternative spelling *o* or *u* does not belong to the original, and, as Grass rightly remarks (2nd edition, p. xliv), it points to the identity of sound of *ǫ* and *u*. This conjecture receives fresh support from the rhyme *criator* : *dur* 231 : 32. We may therefore conclude that tonic free *ǫ* (< ŏ, ŭ) and *ụ*

[1] Cf. Suchier, *Grammatik*, pp. 73–4.

(< ū) were pronounced by the author somewhat like *u* in Latin or *ou* in Modern French. (See also (*b*).) This places the Anglo-Norman origin of the text beyond the region of doubt, as rhymes *ǫ* : *u* are unknown in continental Norman. Suchier[1] and Behrens[2] have, each by his own method, endeavoured to prove that this peculiar pronunciation of *u* was confined to Anglo-Norman as spoken in the Midlands and Northern Counties of England. Their arguments, however, are not absolutely conclusive.

Confusion of *u* and *i*, arising it would seem from the difficulty of rendering adequately the French *u* [y] sound, is also commonly found in Anglo-Norman, but apart from the learned word *rimor* 734, our text offers no example of this confusion. As already stated (see p. xxxviii (*o*)), the rhyme *tue* : *vie* 739 : 40 does not belong to the original.

(*b*) *U* before *i* or a palatal > *ui*, e.g. *andui* 14 ; *lui* 35, 40, etc. ; *fruit* 107, 147, etc. ; *deduit* 113, 170, 178 ; *fui* (= fuge) 195, 196, 201 ; *cui* 511, 765, 847 ; *fui* (= fui) 527, 754, etc. ; *tuit* 746. Sometimes, as happens in some of the earliest Anglo-Norman texts,[3] *oi* is found instead of *ui*, e.g. *froit* 472, 776 ; *toit* 459, 802, etc. On p. xliii (*b*) it has been shown that *oi*, *ui* (< ǫ + i) rhymes with *ui*, *oi* (< ū + i). Such rhymes are only found in texts which confuse *u* (< ū) and *ǫ* (> ō, ŭ). This further strengthens the conjecture advanced above as to the sound of *u*.

Although there are no rhymes *ui* (< ū + i) : *ui* (< ǫ + i) or *oi* (< ǫ + i) : *ui* (< ǫ + i), it would seem that all these combinations resulted in one sound.

Consonants. The fondness of Anglo-Norman writers for double consonants is to be seen in our text—for double *rr*

[1] *Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Phil.*, 1888, p. 176, and *Grammatik*, p. 12.

[2] *Beiträge zur Geschichte der franz. Sprache in England* (in *Französische Studien*, ed. Körting und Koschwitz, v. 2, p. 118).

[3] E.g. *Computus* of Philippe de Thaun (L) : *loist*, *join* ; cf. Suchier, *Grammatik*, p. 35.

see p. xlvi, for double *ss* see p. xlviii (*a*); other examples are: *mm* : *summe* 191; *somme* 772; *cumme* 864; *femme* 10, 11, etc.; *homme* 763, etc. *nn* : *gaainnié* 404; *vilainnie* 560. *bb* : *gabber* 416.

In other respects the consonants give occasion for few remarks.

M. Final *m* is retained very freely in Anglo-Norman texts, and ours is no exception to the rule; but the theory that the use of final *m* or *n* was conditioned by the nature of the following sound[1] receives little support from our version. Alternative forms are found only in the case of *en* (< in), e.g. *en ton cuer* 28, etc., but *em fist* 231; *em plait* 344; *em paine* 454; *em peril* 574; on the other hand: *en manjerai* 301; *en fu* 361; *en vie* 446; *en paine* 463; *en paradis* 494; *en perdicion* 536, etc.

In first person plural endings final *m* is invariably retained, e.g. *purrum* 86; *seom* 594; *seum* 595; *servum* 596, 599; *rendom* 600; *donum* 603; *preom* 637; *alom* 642, 665; *issum* 667; even before *s*: *conquerroms* 596; *voloms* 601; *serroms* 606, 672; *aloms* 629, 635; *irrums* 671.

M has also been retained in the proper names, *Adam* 1, 49, etc.; *Chaim* 623, 723; and in *faim* 53, 500; *hom* 95, 521; *aim* 136; *criem* 136; *cum* 324, etc., no matter what sound may follow. On the other hand, *m* has always been reduced to *n* in *nun* (nomen) 10, 82, 593.

The rhymes *cumpainum* : *nun* 9 : 10; *Adam* : *sathan* 195 : 96; *non* : *raison* 745–46, etc., show that no distinction was made in the pronunciation.

N. (*a*) After *r*, final *n* was occasionally retained in the spelling, e.g. *emfern* 508, but in pronunciation it had disappeared since the time of Philippe de Thaun. That such was the case in our text is shown by the rhymes *suor* : *jor* 437 : 38; *amor* : *jor* 637 : 38. For final *n*, see also p. xxxv (*c*).

(*b*) In the interior of a word *n* before *f* usually becomes *m*, as in most Anglo-Norman works, e.g. *emfanter* 96; *comfort*

[1] Cf. Menger, pp. 83–5.

102 ; *emfers* 223 ; *emfance* 276 ; *emfer* 332, 333, etc. ; *emfern* 508 ; *emfanz* 453, 455, 933 ; *emfantera* 920.

(*c*) The group *nm* has become *lm*, through dissimilation, in *alme* 508, 602.

(*d*) *P* has been introduced between *m* and *n* in *dampné* 618 ; *dampne deu* 630.

L. The treatment of *l* before a consonant is one of the most perplexing questions connected with the study of Anglo-Norman. In certain cases *l* appears to have been suppressed altogether, in others it was vocalized, while yet in others it was retained. Various tendencies were probably at work which prevented a uniform development. To make matters worse the spelling often gives no clue to the pronunciation. Such a state of affairs is revealed by the Tours MS., e.g. *filz* is always written with *l*, 382, 592, 788, but rhymes with *contrediz* 753. On the one hand we find *esculte* 129, and on the other, *escote* 49 ; *escute* 187 ; *escoter* 613 ; *escutera* 912 ; *escutez* 913 ; but the rhyme *ascute* 239 (: *rote*) shows that vocalization of *l* had already taken place. The same conclusion can be drawn from the spellings *l'autr'ier* 175, 395 ; *au* 348, 349, 704. But elsewhere the etymological *l* is invariably retained, while in *beal* 387, 611 ; *ceals* 459 ; [*c*]*eals* 557 (perhaps also in *sev*[*e*]*als* 226), an *a* glide has been introduced.[1]

R. Confusion of *r* and *rr* is common as in other Anglo-Norman texts, e.g. *rr* for *r* : *serrai* 45 ; *serras* 52 ; *serra* 84 ; *serroms* 606 ; *serrez* 265 ; *serrunt* 161 ; *dirrai* 81, etc. ; *ferra* 99, etc. ; *corrage* 234 ; *perriz* 374 ; *irrai* 673, 677 ; *irrez* 506 ; *irrums* 671 ; *trarra* 782, 926 ; but *serez* 14 ; *feras* 100 ; *trara* 338, etc. On the other hand, we find *r* for *rr* : *tere* 5 ; *guere* 6, 790, 836 ; *curant* 120 ; *coru* 520 ; *sucure* 334 ; *socore* 522 ; *gueredon* 703, 738 ; *compera* 584 ; *laron* 810 ; *deliverat* 816 ; *piere* 850.

The pronunciation would seem to have been identical,

[1] G. Paris assumes uniform vocalization of *l*, and normalizes the text accordingly (see 'Bibliography').

as shown by the rhymes *demure* : *sucure* 333 : 34 ; *aüre* : *socore* 521 : 22.

T, D. (*a*) Intervocalic *t* or *d* has left no trace in our text ; *paradis* 82, etc. (but *paraïs* 210, 927) is of learned origin.

(*b*) Final *t* or *d*, if fixed (*i.e.* supported by consonants), either becomes *t* or *d*. The final *d* is a characteristic of the Anglo-Norman dialect. It occurs almost as frequently as final *t*, e.g. *mond* 64, 255, 331, etc. ; *rend* 73 ; *comand* 85 ; *regard* 271 ; *fond* 332 ; but *semblant* 4 ; *querant* 207, etc. The removal of the dental at the end of *sen*, *pren*, and *respon* is probably the work of the Provençal scribe. (See p. xxxv (*d*).)

(*c*) Final dental, if loose (*i.e.* unsupported by consonant), had disappeared from pronunciation—cf. rhyme *devea* 152 (: *la*) ; *demaine* 370 (: *paine*) ; *sojorne* 398 (: *morne*) ; *enlace* 401 (: *face*) ; *oie* 59 (: *joie*) ; *sucure* 334 (: *demure*) ; *vaille* 341 (: *faille*) ; etc.—although it was occasionally retained in the spelling, e.g. *eissit* 20 ; *poisset* 92 ; *quidat* 168 ; *donat* 419, etc., also as *d* : *marid* 34 ; *serrad* 79 ; *ad* (habet) 82, 97, etc. (but *a* 252, etc.), *avrad* 347.

C. In the treatment of *c* the language of the *Mystère d'Adam* does not differ in any way from Francien. The spelling, however, gives rise to a few remarks.

(*a*) *C* pronounced as *k* is variously written *c*, *k*, *qu*, or *ch*, e.g. *kar* 124, 171, 569, more commonly *car* 38, 282, 285, etc., but also *char* 588, 794, 800, 822. Other examples of *ch* (= *k*) are : *onches* 373, 615 ; *unches* 327, 519, 684 (but *onques* 741) ; *donches* 890 ; *donch* 178. For the sake of clearness I have in all these cases replaced *ch* by *c* or *qu* in the present edition.

(*b*) *C* pronounced as *ts* is generally written *c*, e.g. *force* 32 ; *cest* 82, etc., but sometimes *sc*, which according to Stimming (*Boeve*, p. 232) represents a transition stage from *ts* to *s*, e.g. *haltesce* 376 ; *oscirai* 697, 721 ; *oscira* 741 (but *ocis* 705 ; *occis* 732 ; *occire* 753 ; *occirunt* 808) ; *nascion* 767.

The spelling *z* for *c* in *comenza* 916 (but *començas* 440) ;

forzor 44 ; *friczion* 52 ; *halzor* 290 is probably due to the Provençal scribe. (See p. xxxv (*e*).)

(*c*) *C* pronounced as *ch* [tʃ] is invariably written as in Francien.

W. This letter was commonly used in Anglo-Norman, but our text offers only one example, viz. *gwai* 420.

S. (*a*) As in most Anglo-Norman texts, confusion of *s* and *ss* is common, e.g. *guerpisez* 71 ; *asis* 83 ; *seüses* 257 ; *asai* 286, etc.

(*b*) The group *sl* is either retained, e.g. *mesler* 199 ; *meslee* 362 ; *meslai* 708, or becomes *dl*, e.g. *brudlee* 361. The latter change is peculiar to the Anglo-Norman dialect.

(*c*) *S* never falls before *t* except once in *poetifs* 760, which is undoubtedly corrupt.

(*d*) *S* before consonants, other than *p*, *t*, or *c*, had possibly ceased to be sounded, but it survives in the spelling. It is improbable that *dimes* 712 (but *disme* 657) and *maïme* 658 belong to the original.

Morphology

The Article. Considerable confusion has arisen in the declension of the article, *li* being commonly found in the oblique case, *e.g.* 98, 125, 460, 516 ; on the other hand, *le* occurs once as nominative 874. *Lui* as article is not recorded.

Substantive and Adjective. It is one of the characteristics of the Anglo-Norman dialect that even in the earliest texts the declension of the substantive and adjective showed signs of breaking down, while elsewhere in Northern French the inflexional system with two cases remained practically intact until well into the thirteenth century. In our text the tendency to substitute accusative for nominative is very marked ; it may have been aggravated by scribes, but it certainly existed to some extent in the original, as is shown by the rhymes *tun pareil* 11 (:*feeil*) ; *Evain* (vocative) 25

(: *vain*) ; *peccheor* 95 (: *irur*) ; *talent* 116 (: *coment*) ; *trespassement* 143 (: *entent*) ; *per* 167 (: *veer*), 415 (: *gabber*), 443 (: *deviner*) ; *sathan* 196 (: *Adam*) ; *hardi* 202 (: *ci*), etc. Likewise in the interior of the verse, the metre shows that in 903 *malade* (not *malades*), in 922 *message* (not *messages*) must be read.

Personal Pronouns. (*a*) The use of tonic for atonic forms of personal pronouns is common in Old French generally, but especially marked in Anglo-Norman. The various scribes may have added to the confusion—for example, the use of *te* for *tei* 201 must certainly be imputed to one of them, though Grass (2nd ed., p. 51) goes too far in wishing to exonerate the original writer altogether.

(*b*) The feminine *el* for *ele* is met with on the Continent, but seldom with such frequency as in our text.

(*c*) *Tu* is frequently found with the imperative, e.g. *tu aime li* 13, *tu la governe* 21, *ço garde tu* 26, etc.

Possessive Pronouns. In the first person the atonic nominative singular is *mis* (before a vowel) 84, *mi* (before a consonant) 77, 373, 675 ; *mes* only occurs once, v. 565. *Mis* is also met with in other Anglo-Norman texts, *e.g.* the *Cambridge Psalter*,[1] the *Oxford Roland*, etc., and is common in Western Old French.[2] The forms *tis*, *ti*, *sis*, *si* are unrecorded in our MS.

Relative and Interrogative Pronouns. Like the articles *li* and *le*, the pronouns *qui* and *que* are so freely interchanged that it is difficult to believe that the two forms had not, to some extent at least, been confused in the original. *Que* for *qui* is found in vv. 112, 230, 244, 341, 370, 382, etc. ; *qui* for *que* in vv. 355, 934 ; *cui* as nominative occurs once 782.

Conjugation. (*a*) The apparent confusion of the *-eir* and *-er* conjugations is due to later scribes. (See p. xxxviii (*r*).)

[1] Cf. Menger, p. 118.

[2] Cf. E. Schwan and D. Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, trad. O. Bloch, Leipzig, 1913, § 327 R.

(*b*) In Anglo-Norman analogical *-e* in first person singular present indicative of verbs in *-er* is found as early as the twelfth century.[1] The fact that our text only employs forms without *-e*, e.g. *comand* 85, *aim* 136, etc., is therefore significant.

(*c*) In the second person singular the substitution of *-z* for *-s*, in the case of verbs ending in a labial stem, is encountered particularly in Anglo-Norman texts.[2] The *Mystère d'Adam* offers the following examples: *deiz* (debes) 124; *sez* (sapis) 293, etc. (but MS. has *ses* 898).

(*d*) In the first person plural the ending is either *-um* (*-om*): *purrum* 86; *seum* 595 (*seom* 594); *servum* 596, 599; *donum* 603; *issum* 667; *rendom* 600; *preom* 637; *alom* 642; or *-ums* (*-oms*): *irrums* 671; *conquerroms* 596; *voloms* 601; *serroms* 606, 672; *aloms* 629, 635. In this respect there is a very striking resemblance between our text and the *Computus* and *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaun.[3]

(*e*) In the second person plural *-et* for *-ez* occurs in *seiet* 68 and *suffret* 573. This confusion of *t* and *z* is entirely orthographic in Anglo-Norman, and in that respect peculiar to the dialect.[4]

(*f*) The confusion of second person singular and second person plural is found in most Old French dialects, but nowhere quite as frequently as in later Anglo-Norman. In our text it is very marked, but as was pointed out above (see p. xxxix (*u*)), the blame has probably to be shared between the author and the scribes.

Present Subjunctive. (*a*) Forms in *-ge*: *vienges* 203; *dunge* 208 (but *doinst* 637); *prenge* 226; *vienge* 334, 599, 866; *dorges* 740; *tienge* 748, etc., are very popular in Anglo-Norman.[5]

(*b*) The text offers no example of analogical *-e* in verbs of the first conjugation.

[1] Cf. Schwan and Behrens, *op. cit.* § 352.
[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, ii. § 173.
[3] Ed. E. Walberg, p. lxxvi.
[4] Cf. Menger, p. 122.
[5] Cf. Menger, p. 122.

Imperfect Indicative. In the whole text, only two verbs of the first conjugation are to be found in the imperfect indicative, viz. *chantouent* and *sembloit*. Unfortunately they both belong to an interpolated passage (see v. 938 foot-note) and therefore do not enable us to decide whether the author used the ending *-oue* or *-eie*.

V. Versification

The religious drama grew out of the liturgical text, or rather out of the interpolations ('tropes') by means of which the latter was expanded and adorned. In course of time these interpolations were variously rhymed, generally to suit musical accompaniment. Diversity of metre was at first maintained in dramatic works, even when French was substituted for Latin, or the subject was secular rather than religious. This diversity characterizes the works of Jean Bodel, of Rustebeuf, of Adam de la Halle, and even much later writers. In the *Mistère du Viel Testament* verses of ten and eight syllables alternate in much the same way as in our text, but 'rimes croisées' have replaced the couplets. The *Mystère de la Passion* of Greban offers a wonderful variety of metres, including verses of five and seven syllables. But, notwithstanding these exceptions, there was from the thirteenth century onwards a marked tendency to write plays throughout in monotonous octosyllabic couplets.[1] The Anglo-Norman fragment of the *Resurrection*,[2] dating probably from the middle of the thirteenth century, illustrates the transition to a uniform metre. In this play octosyllabic verses are the rule—out of 372 verses only six are decasyllabic, but couplets are interspersed with numerous quatrains or even longer monorhyme 'tirades.'

[1] This was the case, for example, with most of the *Miracles de Notre Dame*, with this qualification, however, that in the dialogue the end of every speech was usually marked by a verse of four syllables, and that 'rondels' and 'ballades' were frequently inserted in these plays.

[2] MS. Bibliothèque Nationale 902; cf. Foerster and Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*, 3rd ed., 1907, pp. 213–24.

The *Mystère d'Adam* distinctly belongs to an earlier type. Excluding the two spurious lines inserted in the MS. after v. 938, there are 758 octosyllabic lines usually grouped in couplets, but on three occasions the same rhyme runs through four consecutive lines (vv. 203–206, 643–646, 783–786) and the play ends with a 'tirade' of twelve lines rhyming in *-ant*. In addition there are 184 decasyllabic lines (49–116, 461–472, 519–622) distributed in quatrains with one rhyme, except the four lines 113–116 which have two rhymes.

This varied versification the author has put to excellent account. In rapid dialogues, in the glib speech of Satan, in the angry words of God, and Adam's rage at realizing his lost estate, he gives preference to octosyllabic verse, reserving the longer metre for the solemn installation of man in Paradise, the sorrow of Eve after the Fall, and the lament of Adam.[1] In the second act Abel and Cain speak in decasyllabic verse in discussing dispassionately the advisability of seeking reconciliation with God by means of gifts and offerings, but as soon as the conversation grows more heated, the speakers relapse into shorter verse.

In the matter of metre and versification generally, we may assume with Vising[2] that the author of the *Mystère d'Adam* observed the rules and practices which obtained in Northern France in the middle of the twelfth century. This view receives further support from the stage-directions in which the actors are specially warned *in rithmis nec sillabam addant nec demant* (*14*). Verses which in the Tours MS. present irregularities and are either too long or too short, must accordingly be considered corrupt. The rhymes, as

[1] The conjecture of Suchier (*Geschichte d. franz. Lit.* p. 280) that the quatrains and monorhyme tirades were destined to be sung, may be dismissed as most improbable. The singing was obviously confined to the Latin verses assigned to the choir. In the text these are always preceded by the words *chorus cantet*, *cantabit*, or *incipiet*; the parts of the characters being introduced by such expressions as *dicat*, *dicens*, etc.

[2] Cf. J. Vising, *Sur la versification anglo-normande*, Upsala, 1884, p. 73.

was incidentally pointed out in the study of vowel sounds, are, in the main, very pure.

Octosyllabic verses have either a masculine or a feminine ending. The former number 570 out of a total of 758, or roughly 75 per cent.

The most usual types of octosyllabic verses are illustrated by :

(1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	391
	Ke	as	tu	fet	cum	as	er	ré	

with masculine ending (398 instances, + 45 without caesura).

(2)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	393
	Que	as	tu	fet	por	quei	as	hon|te	

with feminine ending (98 instances, + 5 without caesura).

The main stress rests on 4 and 8 (4 being the end-syllable of a word), but 2 and 6 are also accented, and the result is a kind of iambic rhythm.

Slight variations of the chief types are found in :

(3)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	21
	Tu	la	go	ver	ne	par	rai	son	
(4)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	28
	En	ton	cuer	gar	de	ras	bon	té	

in which 4 is not the last syllable of a word, but the iambic rhythm is preserved to some extent (65 instances of (3) ; 28 of (4)).

A more irregular type is represented by :

(5)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	27
	Si	vols	fai	re	ma	vo	len	té	

in which 4 is an unstressed syllable, and the iambic rhythm is destroyed (49 instances).

On the other hand verses like the following :

(6)	1	2	3	4	—	5	6	7	8	140
	N'es	tu	en	gloi	re	ne	poez	mo	rir	
(7)	1	2	3	4	—	5	6	7	8	—	18
	N'est	pas	es	tran	ge	de	tei	est	ne	e	

have been considered corrupt.[1] The last editor[2] and other scholars have attempted to eliminate them from the text. But examples are so numerous that it is difficult to ascribe them all to the work of scribes—I incline to think that some at least are due to the author. The short pause which in such cases exists in the middle of the verse,[3] could allow of the ellipsis of an unstressed syllable even in an Anglo-Norman poem of so early a period. I have therefore refrained from altering verses 18, 37, 140, 159, 197, 200, 712, 772, 809, and 859, for which the MS. reading seemed in other respects satisfactory. On the other hand, emendations were clearly necessary in verses 29, 376, 399, 512, and 890.

In decasyllabic verses there is invariably a caesura after the fourth syllable, which is usually stressed and may be followed by an atonic syllable not counting in the body of the verse (*césure épique*). The rhymes are masculine or feminine, and occur in the proportion of 52 to 48.

Typical examples are :

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
(1)	Por	nul	con	seil	ne	guer	pi	sez	le	mien	71

[1] Cf. E. Stengel in Gröber's *Grundriss*, vol. ii. p. 45.

[2] Grass, *Adamsspiel*, 2nd ed. p. xxvi.

[3] The conjecture that the octosyllabic verse originally contained a caesura was made long ago by G. Paris in his edition of the *Poème de la Passion* and *La Vie de Saint Léger*, but he believed that in the twelfth century the caesura was discarded (cf. *Romania*, i., 1872, p. 292 ; ii., 1873, p. 295). Tobler (*Le Vers français*, translated by Breul and Sudre, Paris, 1885, p. 126), whilst admitting that many lines of the *Poème de la Passion* clearly show a pause after the fourth syllable, contends that this is purely accidental : 'un produit direct de la nature du vers et du langage, indépendant de l'intention et de la volonté du poète.' Foerster in his remarks on the first edition of Grass (note to v. 1) implies that he assumes the presence of a caesura in the octosyllabic verses of the *Mystère d'Adam*, but he does not discuss the question. In his edition of Frère Angier's *Vie de Saint Grégoire*, an Anglo-Norman poem of the beginning of the thirteenth century, P. Meyer singles out fourteen irregular octosyllabic verses, in at least nine of which the irregularity consists in the suppression of an atonic syllable after the fourth syllable. (See *Romania*, xii., 1883, p. 202, and for the presence of a caesura, A. T. Baker, *Mod. Lang. Review*, vii. pp. 177 f., and xi. pp. 435 f.)

(2)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	—		78
	Tu	me	plas	mas	e	jo	sui	ta	fai	tu	re		
(3)	1	2	3	4	—	5	6	7	8	9	10		51
	Tot	tens	poez	vi	vre	si	tu	tiens	mon	ser	mon		
(4)	1	2	3	4	—	5	6	7	8	9	10	—	77
	Tu	es	mi	si	res	jo	sui	ta	cre	a	tu	re	

On the other hand verses like the following (with *césure lyrique*) are very rare :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	—	540
Quant	cre	u	tes	si	tost	con	seil	de	gui	vre	

In this case the line is almost certainly corrupt.

In the matter of hiatus, enjambement, contraction, elision, etc., there is little to remark which would not apply to continental poems of the same period.[1]

Words with variable number of syllables are fairly numerous. They include :

(*a*) *el, ele* usually monosyllabic, *e.g.* 15, 488 ; but in 356 counting as two syllables.

(*b*) *or, ore*, which occurs very frequently before consonants ; in most cases it is monosyllabic, but disyllabic in 212, 316, 397, 624.

(*c*) *cume, cum*, which counts as two syllables as an adverb or a preposition, e.g. *cume grant peine* 372 ; *cume laron* 810, *cumme reies* 864. As a conjunction it is monosyllabic, *e.g.* 537, 539, 650, 670, etc.

(*d*) *oncore, oncor*, which has three syllables in 480, but only two in 172, 489. Elsewhere it is followed by a vowel.

(*e*) *onc, onques*, which represents one or two syllables according to the requirements of the metre, *e.g.* one syllable in 304, 915 ; two syllables in 327, 373, 741, etc. The same remarks apply to *donc, donques*.

[1] Note, however, that unstressed *e* in hiatus (printed *ë*) occurs frequently (25 instances), *e.g.* 10, 11, 33, 48, 59, 93, etc. Enjambement (despite Grass's statement to the contrary) is fairly common ; the chief examples are 47–48, 147–49, 277–78, 285–86, 469–70, 653–54, 665–66, 677–78, 715–16, 878–79.

VI. Date, Origin, and Authorship

The foregoing study of the language and versification justifies the conclusion that the *Mystère d'Adam* was originally written in England about the middle of the twelfth century. Although at so early a date the speech of the Normans settled in England differed little from that of their kinsmen remaining on the Continent, the text shows all the Anglo-Norman characteristics to a marked degree.

With reference to the date, Grass[1] and Suchier[2] have shown that the rhymes *apres* : *relais* 677 : 78 prove that the *Mystère d'Adam* was written subsequent to the *Computus* of Philippe de Thaun (1121–1135), where *ę* only rhymes with *ai* when the latter is followed by a group of consonants; but that, on the other hand, our text is older than the *Chronicle* of Jordan Fantosme (1174–1183), who already assimilates verbs in *-eir*, e.g. *aver*, to verbs of the first conjugation, whereas in the original version of *Adam* *-eir* and *-er* are always carefully distinguished (see p. xlix (*a*)). The date of composition undoubtedly falls within the period 1146–1174, and the probabilities are that it comes much nearer the earlier than the later limit. Luzarche had previously arrived at a similar conclusion.[3] J. Vising has recently proposed the date 1150–1160.[4]

The majority of critics agree with the opinion of Suchier and Grass, and among others G. Paris,[5] Creizenach,[6] etc. A few, however, like Palustre,[7] Foerster,[8] Gröber,[9] and Pollard,[10]

[1] 2nd ed. p. lxix.

[2] P. 697 of his review (see 'Bibliography').

[3] Cf. Luzarche, *Adam*, p. vii.

[4] *Zeitschr. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.* xxxix., 1912, p. 1.

[5] *Hist. de la litt. fr. au moyen âge*, 4th ed., Paris, 1909, p. 262.

[6] In *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* v. p. 39.

[7] L. Palustre, *Adam*, Paris, 1877, p. iv.

[8] Cf. Grass, 2nd ed. p. lxix.

[9] According to Gröber it was written in Western Normandy in the latter half of the twelfth century (*Grundriss*, ii. pp. 712–13).

[10] *English Miracle-Plays*, pp. xviii, xxi.

hold that the work belongs to the Continent. Others, like Chambers,[1] Ward,[2] and Voretzsch,[3] preserve a more or less neutral attitude.

On one point, however, complete unanimity has been secured; all scholars are agreed that the original passed through the hands of one, if not several, Anglo-Norman scribes before it reached Southern France (probably in the early part of the thirteenth century) and was finally transcribed, perhaps from a worn player's copy, as Grass suggests, in the unique Tours MS.

Of the author we know nothing, not even his name, and yet his work enables us to draw certain conclusions about him. That he was a clerk in Holy Orders, either priest or monk, we cannot doubt. Only one in such a position could, at so early a date, have presumed to compose what practically amounted to a liturgical service. He further reveals himself by his insistence on the regular payment of tithes, first-fruits, and other customary dues to which the Church laid claim.[4] French was his native tongue, and nothing in the play indicates that he even understood English. He belonged to the race of the Conqueror, and his fellow-countrymen were numerous both in cathedral chapters and wealthy monasteries. For the times in which he lived, he was a fair Latin scholar, and well read in Church literature. But he was more than all this. He was a poet and a dramatist. In the religious drama, a *genre* which more than any was destined soon to become the special province of literary mediocrities, he occupies a unique position by combining dramatic instinct with artistic taste. In the conception and delineation of character, the skilful handling of dialogue, in clearness and

[1] 'Even if the writer was an Anglo-Norman clerk, the play must have been written for performance in France. I doubt if it was ever actually played or finished' (Chambers, ii. p. 71).

[2] 'To the twelfth century belongs the famous Norman-French—perhaps Anglo-Norman—play of *Adam*' (*Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.* v. p. 11).

[3] *Einführung in d. Stud. d. altf. Lit.*, 2nd ed., Halle, 1913, p. 140.

[4] Cf. vv. 599–606.

conciseness of language, he compares favourably with the best playwrights of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, not excepting Adam de la Halle himself. His work shows mature talent, and we may reasonably assume that it was not his *coup d'essai*. Sepet even suggests that he may have been some 'professor of holy pageantry,' a combination of clerk and minstrel. At all events, says Sepet, 'il rimait à ravir, en vers de huit pieds et de dix. Je ne jurerais pas qu'il n'eût commis, avant et après son drame, quelque chanson de geste, quelque poème d'aventures, et peut-être, qui sait? dans sa jeunesse, avant d'avoir pris les ordres, alors qu'il fréquentait les cours de tel ou tel Abélard, quelque chanson leste et railleuse, quelque malin et mordant fabliau.'[1]

[1] *Prophètes*, pp. 115 f.

LE MYSTÈRE D'ADAM

[20r] Ordo Representacionis Ade.

Constituatur paradisus loco eminenciori; circumponantur cortine et panni serici, ea altitudine, ut persone, que in paradiso erunt, possint videri sursum ad humeros; serantur odoriferi flores et frondes; sint in eo diverse arbores et fructus in eis dependentes, ut amenissimus locus videatur. Tunc veniat salvator indutus dalmatica, et statuantur coram eo Adam [et] Eva. Adam indutus sit tunica rubea, Eva vero muliebri vestimento albo, peplo serico albo, et stent ambo coram figura; Adam tamen propius, vultu composito, Eva vero parum demissiori; et sit ipse Adam bene instructus, quando respondere debeat, ne ad respondendum nimis sit velox aut nimis tardus. Nec solum ipse, sed omnes persone sic instruantur, ut composite loquantur et gestum faciant convenientem rei, de qua loquuntur; [20v] et, in rithmis, nec sillabam addant nec demant, sed omnes firmiter pronuncient, et dicantur seriatim que dicenda sunt. Quicunque nominaverit paradisum, respiciat eum et manu demonstret. Tunc incipiat lectio:

For abbreviations see 'Bibliography. Additions to the text have been enclosed in square brackets [ ]. *2.* que in paradiso fuerint *MS.* *3.* humeris *MS.* servantur *MS.*; sernantur *L.* *5.* amenissemus *MS.* videratur *MS.* *6.* choram *MS.* *10.* instructis *MS.* *12.* aud *MS.* personne sint *MS.*; *emendation suggested by T;* personae [quaecunque] sint *F.* *15.* pronunciente *MS.*

IN PRINCIPIO CREAVIT DEUS CELUM ET TERRAM.

Qua finita chorus cantet : ℟
20 *Formavit igitur dominus.*
Quo finito dicat FIGURA :
1 Adam ! *Qui respondeat :* Sire !
FIGURA. Formé tei ai
De lum de terre.
ADAM. Bien le sai.
FIGURA. Je [t'ai duné alme vivant,
Si] t'ai formé a mun semblant,
5 A m'imagene t'ai fait de tere.
Ne me devez ja moveir guere.
ADAM. Ne ferai ge, mais te crerrai,
Mun creatur obeïrai.
FIGURA. Je t'ai duné bon cumpainun :
10 Cë est ta femme, Evain a nun ;
Cë est ta femme e tun pareil ;
Tu li deiz estre bien feeil.
Tu aime li, e ele aint tei,
Si serez bien andui de mei.
15 El seit a tun comandement,
E vus ansdous a mun talent.
De ta coste l'ai [jo] formee,
N'est pas estrange, de tei est nee.
Jo la plasmai dreit a ton cors ;
20 De tei eissit, non pas de fors.

19. corus *MS.* 1 [A !] Sire *S* ; [bels] Sire *F.* Fourme te *MS.* 2. De limo terre *MS.* ; *emendation suggested by G.* Ben *MS.* 3. *Missing line of MS. supplied by S.* 4. fourme *MS.* 5. ma imagene *MS.* feit *MS.* 6. moi devez ja mais mover *MS.* ; *G proposes :* me deiz ja mais. 7. Nen frai ge *MS.* 8. oberai *MS.* 10. Eva *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* noun *MS.* 12. Tu le devez *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* ben fiel *MS.* 13. aime lui e ele ame *MS.* 14. ben ambedui de moi *MS.* 15. Ele soit *MS.* 16. ambedeus *MS.* 17. fourmee *MS.*; [si] l'ai fourmee *S.* 19. *Emendation of G ;* Jo la plasmai de ton cors *MS.* ; *S proposes :* [Car] jo la p.

Tu la governe par raison ;
Nen ait entre vus ja tençon,
Mais grant amor, grant conservage :
Tel seit la lei de mariage.
FIGURA *ad Evam.* [Or] parlerai a tei, Evain. 25
Ço garde tu, nel tien en vain :
Si vols faire ma volenté,
En ton cuer garderas bonté.
Honore mei, ton creator,
E mei reconuis a seignor. 30
A mei servir met ton porpens,
Tute ta force e tot tun sens.
Adam aimë, e lui tien chier :
Il est marid, tu sa mullier ;
A lui seies tot tens encline, 35
Nen issir de sa discipline ;
Lui serf e aime par bon corage ;
Car ço est dreiz de mariage.
Se tu li fais bon adjutoire,
Jo te mettrai od lui en gloire. 40
EVA. [21r] Jol ferai, sire, a ton plaisir,
Ja ne voldrai de rien issir ;
Tei conustrai a [mon] seignor,
Lui a pareil e a forçor ;
Jo lui serrai tot tens feeil, 45
De mei avra [mult] bon conseil ;

22. N'ait *MS.* ; *emendation of S* ; *G proposes to read :* ja [mais]. 24. soit *MS.* manage *MS.* ; *corrected by G.* 25. A tei parlerai *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; A tei parlerai [or] *S* ; A tei [re]parlerai *T.* 26. tenez *MS.* ; tien *G.* 27. vos *MS.* 28. cors *MS.* 29. Moi aime honor *MS.* ; Honore moi *G.* 30. moi *MS.* 31. moi *MS.* 32. Tut *MS.* 33. t,ien *MS.* 34. et tu sa *MS.* ; *G proposes to suppress* sa. 35. soies *MS.* 37. aim par bon corare *MS.* ; *G proposes to suppress* bon *or to read* lui aime e serf. 38. droiz de manage *MS.* 39. tu le *MS.* bone *G.* 40. *After* mettrai e *has been erased in MS.* 41. frai *MS.* 42. Ja nen *MS.* 43. Toi *MS.* 44. paraille e a forzor *MS.* 45. feel *MS.* 46. moi *MS.* [mult] bon *P, G* ; [maint] bon *S.*

Le ton plaisir, le ton servise
Ferai, sirë, en tote guise.

Tunc FIGURA *vocet Adam propius, et attentius ei dicat :*

Escote, Adam, e entent ma raison !
50 Jo t'ai formé, or te dorrai tel don :
Tot tens poez vivre, si tu tiens mon sermon,
E serras sains, ne sentiras friçun.
Ja n'avras faim, por bosoing ne bevras,
Ja n'avras freit, ja chalt ne sentiras.
55 Tu iers en joie, ja ne te lasseras ;
E en deduit ja dolor ne savras.
Tute ta vie demeneras en joie ;
Tuz jors serras, ta vie n'iert pas poie ;
Jol di a tei, e voil quë Eve l'oie,
60 Se ne l'entent, donc a folor s'apoie.
De tote terre avez la seignorie,
D'oisels, de bestes e d'altre manantie.
A petit ues seit qui vus porte envie,
Car tot li mond iert en vostre baillie.
65 En vostre chois vus met e bien e mal :
Ki ad tel dun, n'est pas lïez a pal.
Tut en balance or pendez par egal.
Creez conseil, seiet vers mei leal.

47. *In MS.* pleisir *is written by the same hand over* servise *struck out.* 48. Frai *MS.* 50. itel don *MS.* 52. nen sentiras friczion *MS.* 53. beveras *MS.* 54. naveras frait *MS.*; *the last word is written above the line, over* faim par bo, *struck out.* 55. lassaras *MS.* 57. demeneuras (u *faded*) *MS.* 58. Tut jors serras (*last* s *struck out*) nen estrat pas poie *MS.*; Toz jorz iert granz, si nen estrat pas poie *F*; Toz jorz vivras, ta vie n'iert pas poie *G.* 59. toi *MS.* Eva *MS.* 60. donc safoloie *MS.*; donc est une fol' oie *S.* 62. des bestes *MS.* 63. A petit vus soit qui vus porte e. *MS.*; Aprivoiez qui vus [en] porte e. *G*; qui vus [ja] porte e. *S.* 64. vus iert encline *MS.*; *corrected by S.* 65. vostre cors *MS.*; vostre cois *T.* 66. cil nen est mis a val *G*; *the MS. has* agal *but a dot has been inserted below* g *and* p *written above it.* 67. ore pendiez *MS.* 68. que soiet *MS.*

Laisse le mal, e si te prend al bien.
Tun seignor aime e si od lui te tien, 70
Por nul conseil ne guerpisez le mien :
Si tu le fais, ne peccheras de rien.

ADAM. Granz graces rend a ta benignité,
Ki me formas e me fais tel bunté,
Que bien e mal mez en ma poësté. 75
En tei servir metrai ma volenté.
Tu es mi sires, jo sui ta creature ;
Tu me plasmas, e jo sui ta faiture.
[21v] Ma volenté ne serrad ja si dure
Qu'a tei servir ne seit tote ma cure. 80

Tunc FIGURA *manu demonstret paradisum Ade, dicens :*

Adam !

ADAM. Sire !

FIGURA. Dirrai tei mon avis.
Vei cest jardin !

ADAM. Cum ad nun ?

FIGURA. Paradis.

ADAM. Mult par est bel.

FIGURA. Jel plantai e asis.
Qui i maindra, [cil] serra mis amis.
Jol tei comand por maindre e por garder. 85

Tunc mittet eos in paradisum, dicens :

Dedenz vus met.

ADAM. Purrum i nus durer ?

FIGURA. A toz jorz vivre, rien n'i poëz duter ;
Ja n'i porrez murir ne engruter.

69. pren *MS.* 70. e ovec lui *MS.* 71. gerpisez *MS.* 73. Grant *MS.* 76. en toi *MS.* ; *after* metrai *the word* met *has been crossed out in MS.* 80. qa toi *MS.* soit *MS.* 81. *After* Sire *the following words have been struck out :* F. (=Figura) mon avis te voil dire. toi *MS.* 82. Veez *MS.* ; *corrected by G.* 84. A' (=Adam) *precedes this line in MS.* [cil] serra *G* ; [si] serra *S.* 85. toi *MS.* *24. After* dicens *the following words have been struck out :* de cest paradis jardin toi dirrai la nature. de nul delit ni trouerez falture. nest bien al monde que couoit criature.

25 *Chorus cantet :* ℟

Tulit ergo dominus hominem.

Tunc figura manum extendet versus paradisum, dicens :

De cest jardin tei dirrai la nature :
90 De nul delit n'i troverez falture ;—
N'est bien al mond, que coveit criature,
Chescons n'i poisset trover a sa mesure—
Femme dë home nen i avra irur,
Në hom de femme verguine ne freür.
95 Por engendrer n'i est hom peccheor,
N'a l'emfanter femme n'i sent dolor.
Tot tens vivras, tant i ad bon estage :
N'i porra ja changier li toen eage.
Mort n'i crendras, ne te ferra damage.
100 Ne voil qu'en isses, ici feras manage.

Chorus cantet : ℟

Dixit dominus ad Adam.

30 *Tunc monstret figura Ade ar*[22r]*bores paradisi, dicens :*

De tot cest fruit poez mangier por deport,

Et ostendat ei vetitam arborem et fructus ejus, dicens :

Cest tei defent, n'en faire altre comfort.
Se en manjues, sempres sentiras mort,
M'amor perdras, mal changeras ta sort.
105 ADAM. Jo garderai tot ton comandement,
Ne jo në Eve nen istroms de nïent.
Por un sol fruit se pert tel chasement,
Dreiz est que seie defors jetez al vent.

90. De nul delit *is crossed out in MS.* trourez *MS.* 91. monde *with* e *deleted in MS.* covoit *MS.* 93. [Ne] femme *G.* ni avra *MS.* 94. Ne home *MS.* 96. Ne a *MS.* 98. Ni porras ja chanjer (*in the last word a dot is placed above the* c) *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 100. *After* Ne *follows* nul *struck out in MS.* que isses *MS.* 101. manger par *MS.* 102. Cost tei *MS.* 103. Sen tu en m. *MS.* ; se tu'n m. *M.* 106. nen cisseroms *MS.* 108. Droiz est que soie *MS.*

Por une pome se jo guerpis t'amor,
Ja en ma vie comperrai ma folor. 110
Jugiez deit estre a lei de traïtor
Qui se parjure e traïst son seignor.

Tunc vadat figura ad ecclesiam, et Adam et Eva spacientur, honeste delectantes in paradiso. Interea demones discurrant per plateas, gestum facientes competentem ; et veniant vicissim juxta paradisum, ostendentes Eve fructum vetitum, 35 *quasi suadentes ei, ut eum comedat. Tunc veniat* DIABOLUS *ad Adam, et dicet ei :*

Que fais, Adam ?
ADAM. Ci vif en grant deduit.
DIABOLUS. Estes tu bien ?
ADAM. Ne sent rien que m'enoit.
DIABOLUS. Poet estre mielz. 115
ADAM. Ne puis saveir coment.
DIABOLUS. Vols le saveir ?
ADAM. Nïent n'iert mon talent.
DIABOLUS. Jo sai coment.
ADAM. E mei qu'en chalt ?
DIABOLUS. [E] por quei non ?
ADAM. Rien ne me valt.
DIABOLUS. Il te valdra.
ADAM. Jo ne sai quant.
DIABOLUS. Nel te dirrai pas en curant. 120
ADAM. Or le me di.
DIABOLUS. Non ferai pas,
Ainz te [22^{v}] verrai del preier las.

109. gerpis *MS.* 110. Que ja en ma vie par sens ne par f. *MS.* ; paierai por f. *G* ; Ja n'ier mais lié *etc. S.* 111. doit estre a loi *MS.* 112. Que si *MS.* *32.* ecclessiam . . . Evam *MS.* *36.* commedat *MS.* 114. Estas *MS.* Ne sen *MS.* ; sai *G.* 115. saver *MS.* 116. Vols le tu saver *MS.* ; [E] vols le tu *S.* Bien en iert mon t. *MS.* ; Ja mes n'iert mon t. *G* ; Jo n'en ai nul t. *T.* 117. comet *MS.* moi que chalt *MS.* 121. frai *MS.* 122. preer *MS.*

ADAM. N'ai nul bosoing de ço saveir.
DIABOLUS. Kar tu ne deiz nul bien aveir.
125 Tu as li bien, n'en sez joïr.
ADAM. E jo coment ?
DIABOLUS. Voldras l'oïr ?
Jol te dirrai priveement.
ADAM. [Ço voil jo bien] seürement.
DIABOLUS. Esculte, Adam, entent a mei !
130 Ço iert tun pru.
ADAM. E jo l'otrei.
DIABOLUS. Creras me tu ?
ADAM. Oïl, mult bien.
DIABOLUS. Del tut en tut ?
ADAM. Fors d'une rien.
DIABOLUS. De quel chose ?
ADAM. Jol te dirrai,
Mon creator nen offendrai.
135 DIABOLUS. Criens le tu tant ?
ADAM. Oïl, por veir,
Jo l'aim e criem.
DIABOLUS. N'est pas saveir.
Que te poet faire ?
ADAM. E bien e mal.
DIABOLUS. Molt es entré en fol jornal,
Quant creiz mal t'en poisse venir.
140 N'es tu en gloire ? ne poez morir.
ADAM. Deus le m'a dit, que je murrai,
Quant son precept trespasserai.

123. sauoir (e *written over* ǫ *by same hand*) *MS.* 124. aver *MS.* 125. ne seiez *MS.* 126. *After* oïr j *has been erased MS.* 127. priveiment *MS.* 128. *Missing words after F;* [Oïr le voil] *S*; *no gap in MS.* 129. Escult *MS.* moi *MS.* 132. de une *MS.* 134. ne *MS.* 135. par veir *MS.* 139. cr,ᵉiez mal mal te p. *MS.* 140. Nez en gloire *S*; N'es en gloire *G.* nen poez *MS.*

DIABOLUS. Quel est cist grant trespassement ?
Oïr le voil senz nul entent.
ADAM. Jol te dirrai tot veirement. 145
Il me fist un comandement :
De tuit le fruit de paradis
Puis jo mangier, ço m'a apris,
Fors de sul un ; cil m'est defens,
Celui ne tucherai de mains. 150
DIABOLUS. Li quels est ço ?
Tunc erigat manum Adam, et ostendat ei fructum vetitum, dicens :
ADAM. Veiz le tu la ?
Celui tres bien me devea.
DIABOLUS. Sez tu por quei ?
ADAM. Jo certes non.
DIABOLUS. Jo t'en dirrai ja l'achaison :
[23r] De l'altre fruit rien ne li chalt, 155
Et manu ostendat ei fructum vetitum, dicens Ade : 40
Fors de celui qui pent en halt :
Ço est le fruit de sapïence,
De tut saveir done scïence.
Se le manjues, bon le feras.
ADAM. E jo en quei ? 160
DIABOLUS. Tu le verras.
Ti oil serrunt sempres overt,
Quanque deit estre t'iert apert,
Quanque vuldras porras parfaire.
Mult le fait bon vers tei atraire :

144. sens *MS.* 148. manger *MS.* 149–50. cil m'est defeis, Celui ne tucherai des meis *F* ; cel me defent ; Cel ne tucherai de nient *S* ; cil nen est sains, Celui ne tucherai de mains *G.* 151. Veez *MS.* 152. devia *MS.* 153. quoi *MS.* 154. Jo te d. *MS.* *40.* Adam *MS.* 159. Se tu le manjues bon le fras *MS.* ; Se tul manjus, *etc. G.* bien feras *F.* 163. porras faire (*after* porras *the word* vivre *has been struck out*) *MS.* ; *emendation of S* ; porras [tu] faire *G.*

165 Manjue le, si feras bien,
Ne crendras pois tun deu de rien ;
Ainz serras puis del tut son per :
Por ço le [fruit] quidat veer.
Creras me tu ? Guste del fruit !
170 ADAM. Nel ferai pas.
DIABOLUS. Or oi deduit !
Nel feras ?
ADAM. Non.
DIABOLUS. Kar tu es soz ;
Encor te membrera des moz.

Tunc recedat diabolus, et ibit ad alios demones, et faciet discursum per plateam, et facta aliquantula mora, hylaris et gaudens redibit ad temptandum Adam, et dicet ei :

Adam, que fais ? changeras sens ?
Es tu encore en fol porpens ?
175 Jol te quidai dire l'autr'ier,
Deus t'a fait ci sun provendier,
Ci t'ad mis por mangier cest fruit.
As tu donques altre deduit ?
ADAM. Oïl, nule rien ne me falt.
180 DIABOLUS. Ne munteras ja mes plus halt ?
Molt te porras tenir por chier,
Quant deus t'a fet sun jardenier.
Deus t'a fait gardein de son ort,
Ja ne querras altre deport ?
185 Forma il tei por ventre faire ?
Altre honor te voldra atraire.

165. fras *MS.* 167. Aienz *MS.* 168. *Emendation of G ;* por içe *S* ; por ço le [te] *P.* 170. Noel frai *MS.* Or oez *MS.* ; Oëz *S.* 172. Encore *MS. 41.* ficiet *MS.* 173. changeras tun sens *MS.* 175. lautrer *MS.* 176. provender *MS.* 178. donch altre *MS.* 179. Jo oil ne me f. *MS.* ; *corrected by S and F ;* jo ne voil nul, rien . . . *G.* 183. feit *MS.* 185. toi *MS.* 186. honor ne te *MS.* ; *emendation of G ;* honor net *M. After* voldra *the words* il faire *have been struck out in MS.*

Escute, Adam, entent [23v] a mei,
Jo te conseillerai en fei,
Que porras estre senz seignor,
E seras per del creatur. 190
Jo te dirrai tute la summe :
Si tu manjues [de] la pome,

Tunc eriget manum contra paradisum :

Tu regneras en majesté,
Od deu poez partir poësté.

ADAM. Fui tei de ci ! 195

DIABOLUS. Que dis, Adam ?

ADAM. Fui tei de ci ! tu es sathan ;
Mal conseil dones.

DIABOLUS. E jo, coment ?

ADAM. Tu me voels livrer a torment,
Mesler me vols o mun seignor,
Tolir de joie, mettre en dolor. 200
Ne te crerrai, fui tei de ci !
Ne seies ja mais tant hardi,
Que tu ja vienges devant mei !
Tu es traïtres e sanz fei.

Tunc tristis et vultu demisso recedet ab Adam et ibit usque ad portas inferni, et colloquium habebit cum aliis demoniis. Post ea vero discursum faciet per populum ; dehinc ex parte Eve accedet ad paradisum, et Evam leto vultu blandiens sic alloquitur : 45

[DIABOLUS]. Eve, ça sui venuz a tei. 205

EVA. Di mei, sathan, e tu pur quei ?

DIABOLUS. Jo vois querant tun pru, t'honor.

187. Escut *MS.* moi *MS.* 191. durrai *MS.* 195. dit *MS.* 198. Adam *omitted in MS.* 200. Tolir de joi *T*; Tolir joie *G.* 201. te *MS.* 202. soies *MS.* 203. viengez devant moi *MS.* 204. foi *MS.* *46.* colloquiam *MS.* *48.* accedœt *MS.* letu *MS.* 205. Eva *MS.* toi *MS.* 206. moi *MS.* quoi *MS.* 207. tun honor *MS.*

EVA. Ço dunge deu !
DIABOLUS. N'aiez poür !
Mult a grant tens que j'ai apris
210 Toz les conseils de paraïs :
Une partie t'en dirrai.
EVA. Ore comence, e jo l'orrai.
DIABOLUS. Orras me tu ?
EVA. Si ferai bien,
Ne te curecerai de rien.
215 DIABOLUS. Celeras mei ?
EVA. Oïl, par fei.
DIABOLUS. Iert descovert !
EVA. Nenil [24r] par mei.
DIABOLUS. Or me mettrai en ta creance,
Ne voil de tei altre fiance.
EVA. Bien te poez creire a ma parole.
220 DIABOLUS. Tu as esté en bone escole.
Jo vi Adam, mais trop est fols.
EVA. Un poi est durs.
DIABOLUS. Il serra mols.
Il est plus dors que n'est emfers.
EVA. Il est mult francs.
DIABOLUS. Ainz est mult sers.
225 Cure ne voelt prendre de sei ;
Car la prenge seveals de tei.
Tu es fieblette e tendre chose,
E es plus fresche que n'est rose ;

209. jo ai *MS.* ; *V suppresses* que ; que jo apris *A.* 212. Ore le c. *MS.* ; Or le c. *G.* 213. frai *MS.* 214. curcerai *MS.* ; curucerai *A.* 215. Celeras men *MS.* ; celeras m'en *L, B, R, and V* ; creras me tu *G.* foi *MS.* 216. Ier descoverz *F.* moi *MS.* 218. toi *MS.* 219. pois creire a ta *MS.* 223. que n'est nus fers *F* and *R* ; que nen est fers *M and V* ; *C suggests reversing the order of vv.* 223–224. 224. serf *MS.* 225. Cure nen *MS.* soi *MS.* 226. *The* a *of* la *is crossed by a diagonal stroke in MS.* sevals de toi *MS.* ; sevels *G* ; seveaus *R.*

Tu es plus blanche que cristal,
Que neif que chiet sor glace en val ; 230
Mal cuple em fist li criator :
Tu es trop tendre e il trop dur ;
Mais neporquant tu es plus sage,
En grant sens as mis tun corrage.
Por ço fait bon trairë a tei. 235
Parler te voil, ore i ait fei.
N'en sache nuls.

EVA. Kil deit saveir ?

DIABOLUS. Neïs Adam.

EVA. Nenil, por veir.

DIABOLUS. Or te dirrai, et tu m'ascute !
N'a que nus dous en ceste rote, 240
E Adam la, qui ne nus ot.

EVA. Parlez en halt, n'en savrat mot.

DIABOLUS. Jo vus acoint d'un grant engin,
Que vus est fait en cest jardin.
Le fruit que deus vus ad doné, 245
Nen a en sei gaires bonté ;
Cil qu'il vus ad tant defendu,
Il ad en sei [mult] grant vertu.
En celui est grace de vie,
De poësté, de seignorie, 250
De tut saveir, [e] bien e mal.

EVA. Quel savor a ?

DIABOLUS. Celestïal.
A ton bel cors, a ta figure,
Bien covendreit tel aventure,

230. glace egal *R.* 231. culpe *MS.* 235. Por iço *B and V.* atraire *A.* toi *MS.* 236. *In MS.* E (=Eva) *precedes* ore i, *and* D (=Diabolus) *precedes line* 237. 237. Ki le deit saver *MS.* 238. par moi *MS.* 241. quil *MS.* 242. molt *MS.* 244. gardin *MS.* 246. soi *MS.* 248. soi grant *MS.* 250. e de seignorie *MS.* 251. saver *MS.* 253. bels *MS.* 254. *After* covendreit *the words* a ta figure *have been struck out.*

255 Que tu fusses dame del mond,
Del soverain e del parfont,
[24v] E seüses quanque [est] a estre,
Que de tuit fusses bone maistre.

EVA. Est tel li fruiz ?

DIABOLUS. Oïl, por veir.

50 *Tunc diligenter intuebitur* EVA *fructum vetitum, quem diu intuita, dicet :*

260 Ja me fait bien sol le veeir.

DIABOLUS. Si le manjues, que feras ?

EVA. E jo, que sai ?

DIABOLUS. Ne me crerras !
Primes le prend e Adam done.
Del ciel avrez sempres corone,
265 Al creator serrez pareil,
Ne vus purra celer conseil ;
Puis que del fruit avrez mangié,
Sempres vus iert le cuer changié ;
O deu serrez [vus], sanz faillance,
270 D'egal bonté, d'egal puissance.
Guste del fruit !

EVA. J'en ai regard.

DIABOLUS. Ne creire Adam !

EVA. Jol ferai [tart].

DIABOLUS. Quant [le feras tu] ?

257. seusez *MS. Emendation of T;* qu'est e deit estre *F*; quanque a [a] estre *C*. 258. del tuit *G*. fuissez *MS.* 259. par voir *MS.* *50–51.* quo diu eius intuitu dicens; *after* eius *the word* introitu *has been struck out in MS.*; *emendation of R.* 260. veer *MS.* 261. Si tu le mangues *MS.*; si tul *G, B, R, and V.* 263. pren e a Adam le d. *MS. A, R, and C suppress* e a. 264. averez *MS.* 267. averez *MS.* 269. O deus *MS.*; Cume deus *S, B, and V.* 270. De egal . . . de egal *MS.* 271. Jo nai *MS.*; Jo'n *B*; Jo n'ai *or* Je le retard *G.* 271–272. Guste del fruit! N'aies regard De creire Adam! *F.* 273. *No gap in MS.*; *emendation of G*; Quant [sera fait]? Eva : [Sul] *S.*

EVA. Suffrez mei
Tant quë Adam seit en requei.
DIABOLUS. Manjue le, n'aiez dutance, 275
Le demorer serreit emfance.

Tunc recedat diabolus ab Eva, et ibit ad infernum. ADAM *vero veniet ad Evam, moleste ferens quod cum ea locutus sit diabolus, et dicet ei :*

Di mei, mullier, que te querreit
Li mal satan ? que te voleit ?
EVA. Il me parla de nostre honor.
ADAM. Ne creire ja le traïtor ! 280
Il est traïtre, bien le sai.
EVA. E tu coment ?
ADAM. Car l'asaiai.
[EVA]. De ço qu'en chalt ?
[ADAM]. Nel dei veeir.
[EVA]. Il te ferra changier saveir.
ADAM. Nel fera pas, car nel crerai 285
De nule rien, tant que l'asai.
Nel laissier mais venir sor tei,
[25r] Car il est mult de pute fei.
Il volst traïr ja son seignor,
E sei poser al deu halçor ; 290
Tel paltonier qui ço ad fait,
Ne voil vers nus ait nul retrait.

Tunc serpens artificiose compositus ascendet juxta stipitem 55
arboris vetite; cui Eva propius adhibebit aurem, quasi

273. moi *MS.* 274. soit en recoi *MS.* 275. n'aies *G.* 276. serrat *MS.* 277. moi muiller *MS.* querroit *MS.* 281. E (=Eva) *precedes* bien le s. *in MS.* 282. A (=Adam): E tu coment E (=Eva): Car io sai oi *MS.*; car oï l'ai *A and C.* 283. chat *MS.* me del veer *MS.*; *emendation of S*; or del veeir *F*; Eva : De ce qu'en chaut ? Mais del veoir *R.* 284. changer saver *MS.* 285. E (=Eva): Nel fra *MS.* 287. A (=Adam): Nel laisser . . . toi *MS.* 288. foi *MS.* 290. E soposer al des halzor *MS.*; *emendation by G*; E soi poser el des halzor *S*; al dois *R.* 292. voil que vers vus *MS.*; voil qu'a vus *G.* *55.* ascendit *MS.* *56.* vetito *MS.* proprius adhibebebit *MS.*

ipsius ascultans consilium. Dehinc accipiet Eva pomum, porriget Ade. Ipse vero nondum eum accipiet, et EVA *dicet ei :*

Manjue, Adam ! ne sez quë est.
Pernum ce bien que nus est prest.
295 ADAM. Est il tant bon ?
EVA. Tu le savras ;
Nel poez saveir sin gusteras.
ADAM. J'en duit.
EVA. Lai le !
ADAM. Në ferai pas.
EVA. Del demorer fais tu que las.
ADAM. E jol prendrai.
EVA. Manjue ! tien !
300 Par ço savras e mal e bien.
J'en manjerai premirement.
ADAM. E jo aprés.
EVA. Seürement.
60 *Tunc comedat Eva partem pomi, et dicet Ade :*
Gusté en ai ; deus ! quel savor !
Unc ne tastai d'itel dolçor !
305 D'itel savor est ceste pome. . . .
ADAM. De quel ?
EVA. D'itel ne gusta home.
Or sunt mi oil tant cler veant,
Jo semble deu le tuit puissant ;
Quanque fu [e] quanque deit estre
310 Sai jo trestut, bien en sui maistre.
Manjue, Adam, ne faz demore,
Tu le prendras en mult bone ore.

58. eam *MS.* 294. co bien *MS.* 295. saveras *MS.* 296. saver *MS.* 297. Jel duit *F* ; Jel dot *R.* fai le *B.* nen frai *MS.* 298. fai *MS.* 299. jo le *MS.* ten *MS.* 300. saveras *MS.* 301. E (= Eva) : Jo en *MS.* ; Jo'n *G.* *60.* commedat *MS.* 303. quele *MS.* 304. sạụor *over which* dolc *has been written in MS.* 306. nen *MS.* 307. mes *MS.* 309. doit *MS.* 312. bon ore *MS.*

Tunc accipiet Adam pomum de manu Eve, dicens :

ADAM. Jo te crerrai, tu es ma per.

EVA. Manjue ! [tien !] n'en poez doter.

Tunc comedat Adam partem pomi ; quo comesto cognoscet statim peccatum suum [25v] *et inclinabit se,* [*ut*] *non possit a populo videri, et exuet sollempnes vestes, et induet vestes pauperes consutas foliis ficus, et maximum simulans dolorem incipiet lamentationem suam :*

[ADAM.] Las ! peccheor, quë ai jo fait ?
Ore sui mort sanz nul retrait.
Senz nul rescus [or] sui jo mort,
Tant est cheeite mal ma sort.
Mal m'est changiee m'aventure ;
Mult fu ja bone, or est mult dore.
Jo ai guerpi mun criator
Par le conseil de male uissor.
A ! las ! pecchable, que ferai ?
Mun criator cum atendrai ?
Cum atendrai mon criator,
Que j'ai guerpi por ma folor ?
Unques ne fis tant mal marchié ;
Or sai jo ja quë est pecchié.
Oi ! mort ! por quei me laisses vivre ?
Que n'est li mond de mei delivre ?
Por quei faz encombrier al mond ?
D'emfer m'estoet tempter le fond.

313. Jo ten crerra *MS.* ; Je t'en *R.* 314. Manjue n'en poez redoter *A and C.* 62. commedat *MS.* pomum *MS.* 66. incipiens *MS.* 315. Allas pecchor *MS.* ; A ! las ! peccheor qu'ai *G and B* ; pechiere *R.* *Beyond this point each verse occupies a separate line in MS.* 316. Or *MS.* 317. Senz nule rescuse sui mort *F and B.* 318. chaite *MS.* ; cheaite *G.* 319. change ma *MS.* 322. *After* le *the word* mal *has been struck out in MS.* mal uxor *MS.* 323. Allas *MS.* frai *MS.* 326. jo ai *MS.* 327. Unches *MS.* 329. Ai mort por quoi *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; aï ! mort, por quoi me lais *S and B* ; por queim laisses *M.* 330. monde de moi *MS.* 331. quoi faz encombrer *MS.*

En emfer serra ma demure,
Tant que vienge qui me sucure.
335 En emfer si avrai ma vie,
Dont me vendra iloc aïe ?
Dont me vendra iloec socors ?
[26r] Ki me trara d'ites dolors ?
Por quei vers mon seignor mesfis ?
340 Ne me deit estre nul amis.
Non iert nul [hom] que gaires vaille.
Jo sui perdu senz nule faille.
Vers mon seignor sui si mesfait,
Ne puis od lui entrer em plait ;
345 Car jo ai tort e il ad dreit.
Deu ! tant serai ci maleeit !
Qui avrad mais de mei memorie ?
Car sui mesfet au rei de gloire.
Au rei del ciel sui si mesfait,
350 De raison n'ai vers lui un trait.
Nen ai ami ne nul veisin,
Qui me traie del plait a fin.
Qui preierai ja qui m'aït,
Quant ma femme si me traït,
355 Qui dex me dona por pareil ?
Ele me dona mal conseil.
Aï ! Eve !

Tunc aspiciet Evam uxorem suam, et dicet :

Femme desvee !

335. si urai ma *MS.* ; avrai male *S and B.* 338. *Top part of* s *in* ite*f cut off, could therefore be read* itel. 341. nul que gaires [me] vaille *B.* 344. Nen puis contre lui *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; N'os contre lui *S and B.* 345. droit *MS.* 346. tant a ci mal plait *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; tant a ici malvais plait *B.* 347. Chi . . . moi *MS.* 348. roi *MS.* 349. roi *MS.* 351. Ne n'ai *B.* 352. trai *MS.* 353. Qui preirai jo ja *MS.* 354. ma trait *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 356. El me dona [le] mal *G.* 357. ai femme deauee *MS.* ; *emendation of G.*

Mal fus tu unques de mei nee !
Car arse fust iceste coste
Qui m'ad mis en si male poste ! 360
Car fust la coste en fu brudlee,
Qui m'ad basti si grand meslee !
Quant cele coste de mei prist,
[26v] Por quei ne l'arst e mei oscist ?
La coste ad tut le cors traï, 365
E afolé e mal bailli.
Ne sai que die ne ke face ;
Si ne me vient del ciel la grace,
Ne puis estre gieté de paine :
Tel est li mals que me demaine. 370
Aï ! Eve ! Cum a male ore,
Cume grant peine me curt sore,
Quant onques fustes mi pareil !
Or sui perriz par ton conseil.
Par ton conseil sui mis a mal, 375
De grant haltesce mis a val.
N'en serrai trait par home né,
Si deu nen est de majesté.
Que di jo, las ? Por queil nomai ?
Il m'aidera ? Corocié l'ai. 380
Ne me ferat ja nul aïe,
For le filz qu'istra de Marie.
Ne sai de nul prendre conrei,
Quant a deu ne portames fei.

358. Mal fussez vus de moi *MS.*; *emendation of G*; [Ja] mar fussez vus . . . *S*; Mare fussez vus . . . *B*. 359. Car fust arse *MS.* 360. poeste *MS.* 363. Quant deus la coste *F.* moi *MS.* 364. moi *MS.* n'oscist *F.* 365. tra *MS.* 367. Ne sa . . . ken face *MS.* 369. Nem *MS.* 371. mal *MS.* 372. curut *MS.*; Cum grant peine me curut *B.* 373. onches *MS.* fusses *G.* parail *MS.* 374. Ore *MS.* 376. sui mis *MS.* 377. por *MS.* 379. por quoi le *MS.* 380. me aidera *MS.* coroce *MS.* 382. que *MS.* 383. nus . . . conroi *MS.* 384. foi *MS.*

385 Or en seit tot a deu plaisir,
N'i ad conseil que del morir !

Tunc incipiat chorus : ℟
Dum deambularet.

70 *Quo dicto, veniet figura stola[m] habens, et ingredietur paradisum circumspiciens, quasi quereret ubi esset Adam. Adam vero et Eva latebunt in angulo paradisi, quasi suam cognoscentes miser[i]am, et dicet* FIGURA *:*

Adam, u es ?

Tunc ambo surgent stantes contra figuram, non tamen omnino
75 *erecti, sed ob verecondiam sui peccati aliquantulum curvati et multum tristes, et respondeat* ADAM *:*

Ci sui, beal sire,
Repost me sui ja por ta ire,
E por ço que [jo] sui tut nuz,
390 Me sui ici si embatuz.

FIGURA. Kë as tu fet ? cum as erré ?
Qui t'a toleit de ta bonté ?
Quë as tu fet ? por quei as honte ?
Cum entrerai od tei en conte ?
395 Tu nen aveies rien l'autr'ier,
Dont tu deüses vergugnier,
Ore te vei mult triste e morne :
Mal se joïst qui si sojorne.

ADAM. Tel vergoine ai, sire, de tei,
400 [Que jo me ceil].

385. soit *MS.* 71. circumspicientes *MS.* 387. ubi es *MS.* sui jo *MS.* *After* beal *the word* sui *has been struck out in MS.* 388. me sui ici por t'ire *T.* 389. por iço que sui *G.* 390. sui jo ici *MS.* ; sui jo ci *S.* *In front of this line and in front of* 394 f (= Figura) *has been struck out and written at the end of the line ; likewise* a (= Adam) *in* 393. 394. toi *MS.* 395. ne navois *MS.* 396. duses vergunder *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 397. Or te voi *MS.* ; Or te voi [jo] *G.* 398. senjoist qui ensi *MS.* ; *emendation of G ;* s'esjoïst qui si *F* ; s'enjot qui ensi *S.* 399. ai jo . . . toi *MS.* 400. *Addition of F* ; Parler nen os *S.* quoi *MS.*

FIGURA. E tu por quei ?
ADAM. Si grant honte mon cors enlace,
Ne t'os veeir, [sire], en la face.
FIGURA. Por quei trespassas mon devié ?
As [i] tu gaires gaainnié ?
Tu es mon serf, e jo ton sire. 405
ADAM. [Jo] ne te puis pas contredire.
FIGURA. Jo te formai a mon semblant :
Por quei trespassas mon comant ?
[27v] Jo te plasmai dreit a m'ymage :
Por ço me fesis cel oltrage ? 410
Mun defens tu pas ne gardas,
Delivrement le trespassas.
Le fruit manjas, dunt jo t'ai dit,
Que jol t'aveie contredit.
Por ço quidas estre mon per ? 415
Ne sai si tu voldras gabber.

Tunc ADAM *manu[m] extendet contra figuram, post ea contra Eva[m], dicens :*

La femme que tu me donas,
Ele fist prime icest trespas ;
Donat le mei e jo manjai :
Or m'est vivre tornez a gwai. 420
Mal acointai icest mangier :
Jo ai mesfait par ma mollier.
FIGURA. Ta mollier creïs plus que mei,
Manjas le fruit sanz mon otrei ;

402. veer en *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 403. deuꝯ *with* e *written above in MS.* 404. gainnie *MS.* 406. Nel te *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 409. toi *MS.* ma ymage *MS.* 410. Por quei *S.* me fis *MS.* 411. defens un pas *MS.* 413. jo toi *MS.* 414. jo tavoie *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 418. El fist primes *G* ; La pome prist a grant trespas *F.* 419. moi . . . mangai *MS.* 420. mest avis que tornez est agwai *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 421. acontai *MS.* 422. Jo sui mesfait *G.* moiller *MS.* 423. moiller creistes plus que moi *MS.* 424. otroi *MS.*

425 Or te rendrai tel gueredon :
La terre avrat maleïçon,
U tu voldras ton blé semer,
El te faldrat al fruit porter ;
Iert maleeite soz ta main,
430 Tu la cotiveras en vain.
Son fruit a tei deveerat,
Espines e chardons rendrat,
Changier te voldra ta semence,
Maleeite iert por ta sentence.
435 [28r] Od grant travail, od grant hahan,
Tei covendra mangier ton pan ;
Od grant painë, od grant suor,
Vivras tu [des or] noit e jor.

Tunc figura vertet se contra Evam, et minaci vultu ei dicet :

Et tu, Eve, male mullier,
440 Tost començas de guerreier,
Poi tenis mes comandemenz !
EVA. Ja m'engingna li mals serpenz.
FIGURA. Par lui quidas estre mon per ?
Seüs tu ja bien deviner ?
445 Or ainz avïez la maistrie
De quanque deit estrë en vie :
Cum l'as tu ja si tost perdue !
Or te vei triste e mal venue ;
As [i] tu fet gaain ou perte ?
450 Jo te rendrai [bien] ta deserte,

425. itel guerdon *MS.* 427. Ou *MS.* 428. Il *MS.* 429. Ele est maleite sor *MS.* ; E maleeite iert *G.* 430. le *MS.* 431. toi devendrat *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 432. Espines e chardons te *MS.* ; Espins e chardons te *F* ; Chardons espines te *G.* 433. Changer *MS.* 434. Malait *MS.* ; Maleaite *G.* 436. Toi *MS.* manger *MS.* 438. *Emendation of S* ; tu des or trestot jor *G.* 439. mala muiller *MS.* 440. Tost me . . . guerreer *MS.* 442. li mal *MS.* 444. Ses tu ja bien *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; Ses tu ja [si] bien *S.* devineir *MS.* 445. einz *MS.* avoies *G.* 446. doit *MS.* 448. voi *MS.* 449. gain *MS.* 450. Jo toi *MS.*

Jo t'en donrai por ton servise ;
Mal te vendra en tote guise.
En dolor porteras emfanz,
E em paine vivront lor anz.
Tes emfanz en dolor naistront, 455
E en anguisse finerunt.
En tel hahan, en tel damage,
As mis [e] tei e tun lignage ;
Toit ceals qui [ja] de tei istront,
Li toen pecchié deploreront. 460

[28v] *Et respondebit Eva, dicens :* 80

EVA. Jo sui mesfaite, ço fu par [mon] folage,
Por une pome soffri si grant damage
Qu'en paine met [e] mei e mon lignage.
Petit aquest me rent grant traüage.
Si jo mesfis, ço ne fu grant merveille, 465
Quant li serpenz suduist ma fole oreille.
Mult set de mal, ne semble pas öeille ;
Mal est bailliz qui a lui se conseille.
La pome pris, or sai que fis folie,
Sor ton defens ; de ço fis felonie ! 470
Mal en gustai ; or sui de tei haïe :
Por poi de froit mei covient perdre vie.

Tunc minabitur FIGURA *serpenti, dicens :*

E tu, serpent, iers maleeit !

454. vivront tot lor *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; Em paine . . . *S.* 455. Test *MS.* 456. E en grant anguisse *MS.* ; *emendation of F and S.* 458. toi *MS.* 459. Toit iceals qui de *F.* toi *MS.* 460. pecche ploreront *MS.* 461. Go sui mesfait *MS.* ço fu por [mon] f. *G* ; iço fu . . . *S.* 462. soffrirai *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 463. Que en . . . moi *MS.* 465–66. Si jo mesfis, ne fu merveille grant, Quant trai moi le serpent suduiant *MS.* ; *emendation of S and G.* 467. nen *MS.* 469. pomo *MS.* 469–70. *G punctuates :* fis folie ; Sor ton defens de ço. *The MS. has* folienie *above which* o *has been written.* 471. toi *MS.* 472. moi covient perdre la vie *MS.* ; *emendation of F* ; me vient . . . *S. 81.* serpentis *MS.* 473. serpet soiez maleit *MS.*

De tei reprendrai bien mon dreit.
475 Sor ton piz te traïneras,
A tuz les jors que ja vivras.
La puldre iert tut dis ta vïande
En bois, en plain, [e si] en lande.
Femme te portera haïne,
480 Oncore t'iert male veisine.
Tu son talon aguaiteras,
Cele te sachera le ras ;
Ta teste ferra d'itel mail
Qui te ferra mult grant travail.
485 Encore en prendra bien conrei
Cum [se] porra vengier de tei.
[29r] Mal acointas tu sun traïn,
El te fera le chief enclin ;
Oncor raïz de lui istra,
490 Qui tes vertuz tost confundra.

Tunc figura expellet eos de paradiso, dicens :

Ore issez hors de paradis,
Mal change avez fet de païs.
En terre vus ferez maison :
En paradis n'avez raison ;
495 N'i avez rien que chalengier.
Fors [en] istrez sen recovrier ;
N'i avez rien par jugement,
Or pernez aillors chasement.
Fors issez de bonaürté ;
500 Ne vus falt mais faim ne lasté ;

474. De to . . . droit *MS.* ; Te reprendrai jo de bon droit *G.* 476. viveras *MS.* 480. te iert *MS.* 482. Cele te marchera el pas *S.* 483. de itel *MS.* 484. *L reads* un *instead of* mult ; *word faded in MS.* travil *MS.* 486. toi *MS.* 487. traïr *G.* 488. Ele te fra le chief enclin *MS.* ; chief perir *G.* 489. Oncore *MS.* 490. Qui toz tes vertuz confundra *MS.* ; Qui tes vertuz te c. *F* ; Qui totes vertuz c. *G.* 491. isse *MS.* 493. frez *MS.* 496. isterez sen recoverer *MS.* 499. en issez *MS.* 500. lassete *MS.*

Ne vus falt mais dolor ne paine
A toz les jors de la semaine.
En terre avrez malvais sojor,
Aprés morrez al chief del tor ;
Despois qu'avrez gustee mort, 505
En emfer irrez sanz deport.
Ici avront les cors eissil,
Les almes en emfern peril.
Satan vus avra en baillie.
N'est hom que vus en face aïe, 510
Par cui seiez vus ja rescos,
Se mei ne prend pitié de vus.

Chorus cantet : ℟

In sudore vultus tui.

[29v] *Interim veniet angelus albis* [*vestibus*] *indutus, ferens* 85
radientem gladium in manu, quem statuet figura ad portam paradisi, et dicet ei :

Gardez mei bien le paradis,
Que mais n'i entre icist faidis,
Qu'il n'ait mais poeir ne baillie 515
Ne de tochier li fruit de vie ;
O cele spee qui flambeie,
Si li defent tres bien la veie.

Cum fueri[*n*]*t extra paradisum, quasi tristes et confusi,*
incurvati erunt solo tenus super talos suos, et figura manu
eos demonstrabit, versa facie contra paradisum ; et chorus 90
incipiet : ℟

Ecce Adam quasi unus.

Quo finito, figura regredietur ad ecclesiam.

Tunc Adam [*habebit*] *fossorium et Eva rastrum, et*

504. de tor *MS.* 505. averez guste *MS.* 511. soiez *MS.* 512. moi nen prenge pite *MS.* 513. moi *MS.* 514. faudis *MS.* 516. tocher *MS.* 517. flamboie (*the* o *has been written above the line also in* voie *of next line*) *MS.* 518. defendez . . . voie *MS.* *90.* demonstrans *MS.* eorum incipiet *MS.* *93.* finito et *MS.* *94.* rostrum *MS.*

incipie[n]t colere terram et seminabunt in ea triticum. Postquam seminaverint, ibunt sessum in loco aliquantulum, tanquam fatigati labore, et flebiliter respicient sepius paradisum, percucientes pectora sua. Interim veniet diabolus et plantabit in cultura eorum spinas et tribulos et abscedet. Cum venient Adam et Eva ad culturam suam et viderint ortas spinas et tribulos, vehementi dolore percussi, prosternent se in terra [30r], *et residentes percucient pectora sua et femora sua, dolorem gestu fatentes ; et incipiet* [ADAM] *lamentacionem suam :*

A ! las ! chaitif, tant mal vi unques l'ore,
Que mes pecchiez me sunt [si] coru sore,
Que jo guerpi le seignor qu'hom aüre ;
Qui requerrai ja mes qu'il me socore ?

Hic respiciat Adam paradisum, et ambas manus suas elevabit contra eum, et caput pie inclinans dicet :

Oi ! paradis ! tant [par es] bel maneir !
Vergier de glorie, tant vus fet bel veeir !
Jetez en sui por mon pecchié, por veir ;
Del recovrier tot ai perdu l'espeir.
Jo fui dedenz, n'en soi gaires joïr,
Creï conseil qui me fist tost partir ;
Or m'en repent, dreit est qui m'en aïr,
Ço est a tart, rien ne valt mon sospir.
U fu mon sens, que devint ma memoire,
Que por satan guerpi le rei de gloire ?
Or me travail, ne m'en valt adjutoire ;
Li mien pecchié iert escrit en estoire.

97. fatigari *MS.* *103.* gestum fatē|tentes *MS.* 519. Allas *MS.* unches *MS.* 520. pecchez *MS.* 521. que hom *MS.* 522. requerra *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* *106.* capud . . . dicens *MS.* 523. *Emendation of G* ; Aï ! aï ! paradis bel maner *S.* maner *MS.* 524. veer *MS.* 525. par mon . . . par voir *MS.* 526. recovrer . . . espoir *MS.* 528. chi *MS.* 529. droit *MS.* 530. nen *MS.* 531. Ou *MS.* 532. roi *MS.* 533. men travail (*second* a *written above the line*) si men valt mult petit *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 534. en estoire escrit *MS.*

Tunc manum contra Eva[m] levabit, que aliquantulum alto erit remota, et cum magna indignacione movens caput dicet ei :

Oi ! male femme, plaine de traïson ! 535
Tant m'as mis tost en [grant] perdicïon,
Cum me tolis le sens e la raison !
[30v] Or m'en repent, ne puis aveir pardon.
Eve dolente, cum fus a mal delivre,
Quant tu creïs si tost conseil de guivre ! 540
Par tei sui mort, si ai perdu le vivre ;
Li toen pecchié [en] iert escrit eu livre.
Veiz tu les signes de grant confusïon ?
La terre sent nostre maleïçon ;
Forment semames, or i naissent chardon ; 545
[Forment suames, or a mal gueredon].
De nostre mal veiz le comencement :
Ço'st grant dolors ; mais grainior nus atent.
Menez serrums en emfer sanz entent ;
Ne nus faldra ne peine ne torment. 550
Eve chaitive, que t'en est a vïaire ?
Cest as conquis, donez t'est en duaire.
Ja ne savras vers home bien atraire,
Mes a raison serras tot tens contraire.
Tuz cels qu'istront de [la] nostre lignee, 555
Del toen forfait sentiront la haschiee ;
Tu forfesis, a toz ceals est jugiee.
Mult tardera par qui ele iert changiee.

109. dicens *MS.* 536. *Emendation of F;* [I]tant *S.* 538. aver *MS.* 540. Quant creutes . . . de la g. *MS.* ; *emendation of G;* Quant tu creus *M.* 541. toi *MS.* si *written over* ę *in MS.* 542. eiscrit en *MS.* 543. Veez tu le *MS.* 544. la nostre *MS.* 546. *There is no gap in MS.; additional verse suggested by S.* 547. nostre malveiste le *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 548. Co est nostre grant *MS.* 549. Menez en *MS.* la co ęntent *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 550. poine *MS.* 553. saveras *MS.* 555. que *MS.* 556. hascee *MS.* 557. forfis *MS.* eals est jugee *MS.* 558. tarzera (*not clear*) *MS.* por qui il iert changee *MS.*

110 *Tunc respondeat* EVA *ad Adam :*

Adam, bel sire, mult m'avez blastengiee,
560 Ma vilainnie retraite e reprochiee.
Si jo mesfis, j'en suffre la haschiee ;
Jo sui copable, par deu serrai jugiee.
Jo sui vers deu e vers tei mult mesfaite,
Ma forfaiture mult iert longe retraite.
565 Ma culpe est grant, mes pecchiez me dehaite.
[31r] Chaitive sui, de tut bien ai suffraite.
Nen ai raison que vers deu me defende,
Que peccheriz culpable ne me rende.
Pardonez mei, kar ne puis faire amende ;
570 Si jol poeie, fereie par offrende.
Jo peccheriz, jo lasse, jo chaitive !
Por [mon] forfet sui vers deu si eschive ;
Mort, car me prend ! Ne suffre que jo vive !
Em peril sui, ne puis venir a rive.
575 Li fel serpent, la guivre de mal aire,
Me fist mangier la pome de contraire.
Jo t'en donai, si quidai por bien faire ;
Del toen pecchié onc ne te pois retraire.
Por quei ne fui al criator encline ?
580 Por quei ne ting, sire, ta discipline ?
Tu mesfesis, mes jo sui la racine ;
De nostre mal longe en est la mescine.
Le mien mesfait, ma grant mesaventure,
Compera chier la nostre engendreore.

559. mave blastenge *MS.* ; m'as tu *G.* 560. reproche *MS.* 561. jo en *MS.* hascee *MS.* 562. jugee *MS.* 563. toi mult mesfeite *MS.* 564. Le mien mesfait *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; Del mien forfait *F.* longes *G.* 569. Pardonez le moi *MS.* 570. jo poeie jo frai *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 572. sui jo *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 573. que me *over which* car *has been written in MS.* pren ne suffret *MS.* 578. E mis toi en pecchie dont ne *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 579. sui *MS.* ; *emendation of F.* 580. tien jo *MS.* 582. long nest *MS.* ; [molt] longe est *G.*

Li fruiz fu dulz, la paine est [grant e] dure. 585
Mal fu mangiez, nostre iert la forfaiture.
Mais neporquant en deu est ma sperance ;
D'icest mesfait car tot iert acordance :
Deus me rendra sa grace e sa mustrance,
Nus gietera d'emfer par [sa] pussance. 590

Tunc veniet diabolus, et tres vel quatuor diaboli cum eo, deferentes in manibus chatenas et vincula ferrea, quos ponent in colla Ade et Eve. [31v] *Et quidam eos inpellent, alii eos trahent ad infernum ; alii vero diaboli erunt iuxta infernum obviam venientibus, et magnum tripudium inter* 115 *se facient de eorum perdicione ; et singuli alii diaboli illos venientes monstrabunt, et eos suscipient et in infernum mittent ; et in eo facient fumum magnum ex[s]urgere, et vociferabuntur inter se in inferno gaudentes, et collident caldaria et lebetes suos, ut exterius audiantur. Et, facta* 120 *aliquantula mora, exibunt diaboli discurrentes per plateas ; quidam vero remanebunt in inferno.*

Deinde veniet Chaym [et] Abel. Chaym sit indutus rubeis vestibus, Abel vero albis, et colent terram preparatam ; et, cum aliquantulum a labore requieverit, alloquatur ABEL 125 *Chaym fratrem suum blande et amicabiliter, dicens ei :*

Frere Chaym, nus sumes dous germain,
E sumes filz del home premerain :
Ce fu Adam, la mere ot non Evain ;
De deu servir ne seom pas vilain.
Seum tot tens subject al criator, 595

585. *Emendation of G ;* dǫre *with* u *written above* ǫ *in MS.* 586. fraiture *MS.* ; *emendation of T.* 588. char *MS.* tost *F. G puts a full stop at the end of this and the next verses.* 589. s'amistance *T.* 590. Gieter nus voldra *MS.* ; *emendation of P ;* D'emfer gieter nos voldra par p. *S.* *112.* vinctos *MS.* ferreos *MS.* *113.* inpellụnt (a *written above* ụ) *MS.* *114.* trahụnt *MS.* *116.* faciunt *MS.* *117.* suscipiụnt (e *written above* ụ) *MS.* *120.* caldaria *could be read as* caldana *in MS.* *121.* discucientes *MS.* *122.* infernum *MS.*

Ensi servum que conquerroms s'amor,
Que nos parenz perdirent par folor.
Entre nos [dous] si seit bien ferme amor.
Si servum deu que li vienge a plaisir ;
600 Rendom ses dreiz, ne seit riens del tenir.
Se de bon cuer le voloms obeïr,
[32r] N'avront poür nos almes de perir.
Donum sa disme e tute sa justise,
Primices, dons, offrendes, sacrifice ;
605 Si del tenir nos prent ja coveitise,
Perdu serroms en emfer sen devise.
Entre nos dous ait grant dilectïon ;
N'i seit envie, n'i seit detractïon ;
Por quei avreit entre nus dous tençon ?
610 Tote la terre nos est mise a bandon.

Tunc respiciet CHAYM *fratrem suum Abel, quasi subsan[nan]s, et dicet ei :*

Beal frere Abel, bien savez sermoner,
Vostre raison aseeir e mustrer ;
Vostre doctrine s'est qui voille escoter,
En poi de jorz avra poi que doner.
615 Disme doner ne me vint onc a gre.
Del toen aveir poez faire ta bonté,
E jo del mien ferai ma volenté ;
Par mon mesfait ne serras tu dampné !
De nus amer nature nus enseigne,
620 Entre nos dous nen ait nul que se feigne.

596. E si *G.* 598. soit bien ferm *MS.* 600. droiz nen soit *MS.* 602. Naveront nos almes pour *MS.* ; *emendation of S* ; N'avront nos almes poür [onc] *G.* 604. Primices offrendes dons *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 605. prent acoveitise *MS.* 607. deus *MS.* 608. soit (*bis*) *MS.* 609. avra *MS.* ; *emendation of F.* 610. mis a *MS.* 612. asaer *MS.* ; asseeir *G.* 613. qsi est quil *MS.* ; *emendation of T and M* ; qui la voille *F.* 615. vient *G.* onches *MS.* 616. aver *MS.* 617. frai *MS.* 620. nait *MS.*

Qui entre nus comencera bargaigne,
Tres bien l'achat, ke dreiz est qu'il s'en pleigne.

Iterum alloquatur Abel fratrem suum Chaym ; cum micius solito respond[er]it, dicet : 130

ABEL. Chaïm, bel frere, entent a mei !
CHAIM. Volentiers, ore di de quei ?
ABEL. [32v] Ço est ton pru. 625
CHAIM. Tant m'est plus bel.
ABEL. Ne faire ja vers deu revel !
Nen aies envers lui orguil !
Jo t'en chasti.
CHAIM. Jo bien le voil.
ABEL. Crei mon conseil, aloms offrir
A dampne deu por lui plaisir. 630
Si est vers nos [tot] apaiez,
Ja ne nus reprendra pecchiez,
Ne sor nus ne vendra tristor :
Mult fait bon porchacier s'amor ;
Aloms offrir a son alter 635
Tel don qu'il voille regarder ;
Preom lui qu'il nus doinst s'amor,
E nus defende noit e jor.

Tunc respondebit CHAIM, *quasi placuerit ei consilium Abel, dicens :*

Bel frere Abel, mult as bien dit,
Icest sermon as bien escrit, 640

621. comencera la guerre *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 622. Tres bien la chat *MS.* ; Cil iert chastiez *G.* droiz *MS.* *129.* quo micius *MS.* 623. moi *MS.* 624. ore de de quoi *MS.* ; or di moi de quoi *G.* 625. Co est de ton *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 626. Nen fai ja *MS.* ; *emendation of F and S.* 627. aez envers (en *being written above the line*) *MS.* ; N'aies vers lui [ja mais] *G.* 629. Creez *MS.* 631. Sil est *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* i *of* apaiez *written above the line in MS.* 632. nus prendra *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 634. porchacer *MS.* 635. altier *MS.* 637. que il *MS.* 638. defende de mal noit *MS.* ; De mal defende *F* ; E nus defende bien tot jor *G.* 640. sermon cum en escrit *S* ; sermon [ou l'] as escrit *or* ou est escrit *G.*

E jo crerai bien ton sermon.
Alom offrir, bien est raison.
Qu' offriras tu ?

ABEL. Jo un agnel,
Tuit le meillor e le plus bel
645 Que porrai trover a l'ostel ;
Cel offrirai, ne ferai el ;
[E] si lui offrirai encens.
Or vus ai dit tot mon porpens.
[33r] Tu qu'offriras ?

CHAIM. Jo de mon blé,
650 Itel cum dex le m'a doné.

ABEL. Iert del meillor !

CHAIM. Nenil, por veir ;
De cel ferai jo pain al seir.

ABEL. Tel offrende n'est acceptable
[A dampne deu].

CHAIM. Ja est ço fable.

655 ABEL. Riches hom es e mult as bestes.

CHAIM. Si ai.

ABEL. Or conte totes testes,
E de totes done la disme !
Si offre la a deu meïsme,
Offre la lui de cuer entier,
660 Si recevras [mult] bon luier.
Feras le tu ?

CHAIM. Oëz furor !
[La disme offrir sereit folor :]

643. Quoi *MS.* 646. Icel offrirai nen frai *MS.* 647. Lui offrirai alsi encens *G.* 649. que *MS.* 651. voir *MS.* 652. soir *MS.* 653. nest pas *MS.* 654. *No gap in MS.* ; Puniz en iers *F* ; E por quei non ? *S* ; Ço n'est assez *G.* 656. Por quei ne contes toit par testes *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; Or les contez par testes *F* ; Que ne contes par testes *S.* 657. donez las dismes *MS.* 658. Si offriras a deu maimes *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 659. Offrez le lui de bon cuer *MS.* ; *emendation of T.* 660. luer *MS.* 661. Fras le tu ensi *MS.* Or oez furor *MS.* ; *emendation of S* ; Or oi *G.* 662. *Emendation of S.*

De dis ne remaindront que noef.
Icist conseil ne valt un oef.
Alom offrir chescons por sei 665
Quë il voldra.

ABEL. E jo l'otrei.

Tunc ibunt ad duos magnos lapides qui ad hoc erunt parati. Alter ab altero lapide erit remotus, ut cum aparuerit figura, sit lapis Abel ad dexteram eius, lapis vero Chaim 135 *ad sinistram. Abel offeret agnum et incensum, de quo faciet fumum ascendere. Chaym of*[33v]*feret maniplum messis. Apparens itaque figura benedicet munera Abel et munera vero Chaym despiciet. Unde post oblacionem, Chaym torvum vultum geret contra Abel,* 140 *et, factis oblacionibus suis, ibunt ad loca sua. Tunc veniet* CHAYM *ad Abel, volens educere callide* [*eum*] *foras ut* [*eum*] *occidat, et dicet ei :*

Bel frere Abel, issum ça fors !

ABEL. Por quei ?

CHAIM. Por deporter nos cors
E reguarder nostre labor,
Cum sunt creü, s'il sunt em flor. 670
As prees puis [fors] en irrums,
Plus legier aprés en serroms.

ABEL. J'irrai od tei, u tu voldras.

CHAIM. Or en vien donc, bon le feras.

ABEL. Tu es mi freres li ainez, 675
Jo ensivrai tes volentez.

664. vealt *MS.* 665–66. Alom offrir de ca chescons par soi quil voldra. Abel : E jo lotrei *MS.* ; [que li] offrom chescons par soi [Voldras le tu]? Abel : E jo l'otrei *S* ; Alom offrir [tu des encens, Jo de mon ble, co est mon porpens, Tant] qu'il voldra chescons por soi [Voldras le tu]? Abel : E jo l'otrei *G.* *134.* aparruerit *MS.* *137.* offerret *MS.* *138.* benedicens *MS.* 669. E por *MS.* 671. As prez puis en irrums *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 672. leegier *MS.* 673. Jo irrai ovec toi ou *MS.* ; *emendation of P and G.* 674. e bon le fras *MS.*

CHAIM. Or va avant, j'irrai aprés
Le petit pas, a grant relais.

Tunc ibunt ambo ad locum remotum et quasi secretum,
145 *ubi Chaim quasi furibundus irruet in Abel volens eum occidere, et dicet ei :*

Abel, morz es.
ABEL. E jo por quei ?
680 CHAIM. Jo me voldrai vengier de tei.
ABEL. Sui jo mesfait ?
CHAIM. Oïl, asez !
Tu es traïtres tot provez.
ABEL. Certes non sui.
CHAIM. Dis tu que non ?
ABEL. Unc ne ferai jo traïson.
685 CHAIM. [34r] Tu la fesis !
ABEL. E jo coment ?
CHAIM. Tost le savras.
ABEL. Jo ne l'entent.
CHAIM. Jol tei ferai mult tost saveir.
ABEL. Ja nel porras prover por veir.
CHAIM. La prove est pres.
ABEL. Deus m'aidera.
690 CHAIM. Jo t'occirai.
ABEL. Deu le savra.

Tunc eriget CHAIM *dextram minacem contra eum, dicens :*

Vei ci qui fera la provence.
ABEL. En deu est tote ma fiance.
CHAIM. Vers mei t'avra il poi mestier.
ABEL. Bien te poet faire destorbier.

677. jo irrai *MS.* 679. quoi *MS.* 680. Jo men . . . toi *MS.* 684. Unches namai de fere traison *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 685. las fesi-s *MS.* 686. saveras *MS.* lentenc *MS.* 687. Jol toi frai *MS.* savoir *MS.* 688. voir *MS.* 690. te occirai (*reference mark to* ades *in the margin*) *MS.* 691. Veez ici ¶ qui fra la provent ce *MS.* 693. moi *MS.* 694. destorber *MS.*

CHAIM. Ne [te] porra de mort guenchir. 695
ABEL. Del tut me met a son plaisir.
CHAIM. Vols oïr por quei t'oscirai ?
ABEL. Or le me di.
CHAIM. Jol tei dirrai.
Trop te fesis de deu privé,
Por tei m'a il tot refusé, 700
Por tei refusa il m'offrende.
Pensez vus donc que nel te rende ?
Jo t'en rendrai le gueredon :
Mort remaindras oi au sablon.
ABEL. Si tu m'ocis, ço iert a tort, 705
Deu vengera en tei ma mort.
Ne [te] mesfis, deu le set bien,
Vers lui ne te meslai de rien ;
Ainz dis que fesisses tel faiz,
Que fusses digne de sa paiz ; 710
[34v] A lui rendisses ses raisons :
Dismes, primices, oblacïons.
Por ço avreies tu s'amor.
Tu nel fesis, or as iror.
Deux est verais ; qui a lui sert, 715
Tres bien l'empleie, pas nel pert.
CHAIM. Trop as parlé, sempres morras.
ABEL. Frere que dis ? Tu me minas,
Jo vinc ça fors en ta creance.
CHAIM. Ja ne t'avra mestier fiance. 720

695. guarir *F.* 697. quoi te *MS.* 698. di por quoi *MS.*; *emendation of P and G*; Or di por quoi *F.* toi *MS.* 699. te fais *MS.* 700. toi *MS.* 701. toi . . . ma *MS.* 702. Penses tu *G.* 705. mocies *MS.* 706. toi *MS.* 709. Ainz te . . . fesis *MS.*; *emendation of T*; Ainz jo te dis: Faisoms tel faiz *G.* 710. fuissez *MS.*; Que somes digne *G.* 711. rendisez *MS.*; A lui rendoms totes r. *G.* 712. Dimes *MS.*; Dons, primices, o. *G.* 713. porrez aver *MS.*; Por ço porroms aver *G.* 714. fais *MS.* 716. lemplie *MS.*; Celui em vie pas *G.* 717. parole *MS.* 718. Tu m'osciras *or* Tu menaças *G.*

Jo t'oscirai, jo tei defi.

ABEL. Deu pri qu'il ait de mei merci.

Tunc Abel flectet genua ad orientem ; et habebit ollam coopertam pannis suis, quam percuciet Chaim, quasi ipsum Abel occideret. Abel autem iacebit prostratus, quasi mortuus.

Chorus cantabit : ℟

Ubi est Abel, frater tuus ?

Interim ab ecclesia veniet FIGURA *ad Chaym, et postquam chorus finierit responsum, quasi iratus dicet ei :*

Chaïm, u est ton frere Abel ?
Es tu ja entrez en revel ?
As comencié vers mei estrif ?
Or me mostre ton frere vif !

CHAIM. Que sai jo, sire, u est alez,
S'est a maison u a ses blez ?
[E] jo por quei le dei trover ?
Ja nel deveie pas garder.

FIGURA. Que as tu fet ? u l'as tu mis ?
[35r] Jo sai [mult] bien, tu l'as occis.
Son sanc en fait a mei clamor,
Al ciel m'en vient ja la rimor.
Mult en fesis grant felonie,
Maleeit iers tote ta vie.
Toz jorz avras maleïçon :
A tel mesfait tel gueredon.
Mais [jo] ne voil quë hom t'occie,
Mais en dolor dorges ta vie.

721. Jo toi . . . jo toi *MS.* 722. A deu . . . moi *MS.* ; A deu pri qu'ait *F.* *149.* que percusciet Chaim eam quasi *MS.* 725. Tu as comencie vers moi *MS.* ; Tu començas *G.* 727. ou *MS.* 728. ou *MS.* 729. quoi *MS.* ; le devrai *T.* 730. devoie jo *MS.* 731. Quen . . . ou *MS.* 733. moi *MS.* 734. me vint ja la nimor *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 735. fais *MS.* 736. Maleit en serras tote *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 737. Tot . . . malaiecon *MS.* 739. que hom te tue *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 740. dorge *M.*

Que onques Chaïm oscira,
A set doble le penera.
Ton frere as mort en ma creance,
Griés en serra ta penitance.

Tunc figura ibit ad ecclesiam. Venientes autem diaboli ducent Chaim sepius pulsantes ad infernum ; Abel vero ducent micius.

Tunc erunt parati prophete in loco secreto singuli, sicut eis convenit. Legatur in choro lectio : 160

VOS, INQUAM, CONVENIO, O JUDEI.

Et vocentur per nomen prophete ; et cum processeri[n]t, honeste veniant et prophecias suas aperte et distincte pronuncient. Veniet itaque primo ABRAHAM, *senex cum barba prolixa, largis vestibus indutus, et cum sederit in* 165 *scamno aliquantulum, alta voce incipiat propheciam suam :*

Possidebit semen tuum portas inimi[35v]corum suorum, et in semine [tuo] benedicentur omnes gentes.

Abraham sui, eissi ai non. 745
Or entendez tuit ma raison :
Qui en deu ad bone sperance,
Tienge sa fei e sa creance.
Qui en deu avra ferme fei,
Deus ert od lui, jol sai par mei. 750
Il me tempta, jo fis son gre,
Bien acompli sa volenté.
Occire vols por lui mon filz :
Mais par lui en fui contrediz ;
Jol vols offrir por sacrefise : 755
Deu le m'a torné a justise.

742. l'espenira *S* ; le compera *G.* 743. enz ma *MS.* ; en ta *T and G.* *158.* ducetur *MS.* *162.* Et vocat eum per *MS.* ; *emendation of T.* *167.* tuorum. 745. e issi a non *MS.* 748. sa fai *MS.* 749. Chi . . . foi *MS.* 750. moi *MS.* 753. volei *MS.* fils *MS.* 755. voleie *MS.*

Deu m'a pramis, e bien iert veirs,
Ancore istra de mei tel eirs
Qui veintra tot ses enemis ;
760 Ensi iert fort e poëstifs.
Lor portes tendra en ses mains :
En lor chastels n'iert pas vilains.
Tel homme istra de ma semence,
Qui changera nostre sentence ;
765 Par cui serra li mond salvez,
Adam de peine delivrez ;
Les genz de tote nascïon
Avront par lui beneïçon.

His dictis, modico facto intervallo, venient diaboli et ducent
170 *Abraham ad* [36r] *infernum.*

Tunc veniet MOYSES *ferens in dextra virgam et in sinistra tabulas. Postquam sederit, dicat propheciam suam :*

Prophetam suscitabit deus de f[rat]ribus vestris, tamquam me ipsum audietis.

Ço que vos di, par deu le vei :
770 De nos freres, de nostre lei,
Deus resuscitera un homme ;
Il iert prophete, cë iert la somme.
Del ciel savra toit le secrei :
Lui devez creire plus que mei.

175 *Dehinc ducetur a diabolo in infernum. Similiter omnes prophete.*

Tunc veniet AARON, *episcopali ornatu, ferens in manibus suis virgam cum floribus et fructu ; sedens dicat :*

Hec est virga gignens florem
180 *Qui salutis dat odorem.*

757. *The* i *of* veirs *is written above the line in MS.* 758. moi *MS.* 759. Chi *MS.* 760. Ensi serra *MS.* ; Si serra *G.* poetifs *MS.* 762. E en lor *MS.* 766. Adam serra de *MS.* *171.* dextram *MS.* 769. voi *MS.* 770. loi *MS.* 771. Voldra deus susciter homme *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 773. secroi *MS.* 774. Celui devez croire . . . moi *MS.*

Hujus virge dulcis fructus
Nostre mortis terget luctus.
Iceste verge senz planter 775
Poet faire flors e froit porter.
Tel verge istra de mon lignage,
Qui a satan fera damage :
Qui, sanz charnal engendreüre,
D'home portera la nature. 780
Iço'st fruit de salvacïon,
Cui Adam trarra de prison.

Post hunc accedat DAVID, *regis insigniis* [36v] *et diademate ornatus, et dicat :*

Veritas de terra orta est, et justicia de celo prospexit. 185
Et enim dominus dabit benignitatem, et terra nostra dabit fructum suum.
De terre istra la verité
E justice de majesté.
Deus [nos] durra benignité, 785
Nostre terre dorra son blé ;
De son furment dorra son pain,
Qui salvera les filz Evain ;
Cil iert sire de tote terre,
Cil fera pais, destruira guere. 790

Procedat postea SALOMON, *eo ornatu quo David processit, tamen ut videatur iunior, et sedens dicat :*

Cum essetis ministri regni dei, non recte judicastis, neque 190
custodistis legem justicie, neque secundum voluntatem dei ambulastis. [*Horrende*] *et cito apparebit vobis, quoniam judicium durissimum his qui presunt fiet. Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia.*

778. fra *MS.* 779. Chi *MS.* 780. De home . . . natura *MS.* 781. Ico est fruit *MS.* ; Il nos ferat salvacion *G.* 782. Adam trarra de [la] p. *G.* 783. terra *MS.* 788. le filz *MS.* *188.* quod *MS.* *190.* Cum ceteris ministri *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* *193.* in his que *MS.*

Judeu, a vus dona dex lei,
Mais vus ne li portastes fei ;
De son regne vus fist baillis,
Car mult estïez bien asis ;
795 Vos ne jujastes par justise,
Encontre deu iert vostre asise ;
Ne fesistes sa volenté,
Mult fu grant vostre iniquité.
Ço que fesistes tut parra ;
800 [37r] Car mult dor vengement serra
En cels qui furent li plus halt :
Il prendront toit un malvais salt.
Del petit avra dex pitié,
Mult le rendra esleecié.
805 La prophecie averera,
Quant le filz deu por nos morra.
Cil que sunt maistre de la iei,
Occirunt lui par male fei.
Contre justise, contre raison
810 Mettrunt le en cruiz cume laron.
Por ço perdrunt lor seignorie,
Quë il avrunt de lui emvie.
De grant haltor vendront em bas,
Mult se porrunt tenir por las.
815 Del povre Adam avra pitié,
Deliverat lui de pecchié.
195 *Post hunc veniet* BALAAM, *senex largis vestibus indutus,*

791. loi *MS.* 792. foi *MS.* 794. Char *MS.* 796. E contre *G.* 797. faistes *MS.*; *also* 799. 800. Char *MS.* 801. E cels *G.* 803. pite *MS.* 804. les rendra esleeice (i *written above the line*) *MS.* 807. loi *MS.* 808. foi *MS.* 809. encontre raison *MS.*; Contre dreit e contre raison *F*; E vers justise e vers raison *G.* 812. Che il auer't de lui em vie *MS.*; *emendation of F and M*; Che il avoient de lui emvie *G.* 814. *G punctuates:* por las ; Del. 815. piete *MS.* 816. pecche.

sedens super asinam ; et veniet in medium et eques dicet propheciam suam :

Orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israel, et percuciet duces Moab, vastabitque omnes filios Seth.

De Jacob istra une steille,
Del fu del ciel serra vermeille ;
E surdra verge d'Israel,
Qui a Moab fera revel, 820
E lor orguil abaissera ;
[37v] Car d'Israel Cristus istra,
Qui ert esteille de clarté :
Tot ert de lui enluminé.
Les soens feeils bien conduira, 825
Ses enemis toit confundra.

Dehinc accedat DANIEL, *etate juvenis, habitu vero senex ;* 200 *et cum sederit, dicat propheciam suam, manum extendens contra eos a[d] quos loquitur :*

Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra.

A vus, Judeu, di ma raison,
Qui vers deu estes trop felon :
Des sainz quant vendra tot li maires,
Dont sentirez vos granz contraires ; 830
Donc cessera vostre oncïon ;
N'i poëz pas clamer raison.
Ço'st Crist que li saint signifie,
Tuit feeil par lui avront vie.
Por son pople vendra en terre, 835
Vostre gent li ferunt grant guere,

199. percusciet *MS.* 818. Del feu *MS.* 819. E vus ducs del pople Israel *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; E verge surdra *F.* 821. lor grouil *MS.* 822. Char de Israel xpc istera *MS.* 823. estoille *MS.* 825. Les son feel *MS.* 826. confundera *MS.* 827. Judei *MS.* 828. Qui envers *MS.* 831. *After* donc *the word* sentirez *has been struck out in MS.* 833. Co est *MS.* 834. Tuz cels qui par lui *MS.* ; Tuz feels par lui *G.* 836. frunt *MS.*

Il le mettront a passïon :
Por ce perdrunt lor oncïon.
Evesque n'avront pois ne rei,
840 Ainz perira par els lor lei.

Post hunc veniet ABACUC, *senex et sedens ; cum incipiet*
205 *propheciam suam; eriget manus contra ecclesiam admiracionem simula[n]s et timorem. Dicat :*

Domine, audivi auditum tuum et timui ; consideravi opera tua et expavi. In [38r] *medio duum animalium cognosceris.*

De deu ai oïe novele ;
Tot trublee en ai la cervele.
Tant ai esgardee cest' ovre,
Qu'en grant poür li cuer m'en ovre.
845 Entre dous bestes iert veüz,
Par tot le mond iert coneüz.
Cil de cui ai si grant merveille,
Iert demostré par une esteille ;
Pastor le troverunt en cresche,
850 Qui iert trenchiee en piere secche,
Ù mangérunt les bestes fain.
Pois se fera as reis certain :
La steille i amerrat les reis,
Offrende aporterunt tot treis.

210 *Tunc ingredietur* JHEREMIAS, *ferens rotulum carte in manu, et dicat :*

Audite verbum domini, omnis Juda, qui ingredimini per portas has, ut adoretis deum.

Et manu monstrabit portas ecclesie.

839. naveront pois ne roi *MS.* 841. ai oi *MS.* 842. Tot en ai truble la *MS.* 843. esgarde *MS.* 844. Que grant *MS.* ; *emendation of G* ; m'en covre *M.* 845. iert coneuz *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 846. iert cremuz *MS.*; *emendation of G.* 848. *The* i *of* esteille *is written above the line in MS.* 850. trenchie *MS.* 851. Ou *MS.* 852. si frai as rais *MS.*; *emendation of G.* 853. rois *MS.* 854. *Before* Offrende *the word* Iloec *has been struck out in MS.* trais *MS.*

Hec dicit dominus deus exercituum, deus Israel: Bonas facite vias vestras et studia vestra, et habitabo vobiscum in loco isto. 215

Oëz de deu sainte parole, 855
Tot vus qui estes de sa scole,
Del bon Judé la grant lignee,
Vus qui estes de sa maisniee,
Par ceste porte volez entrer,
[38v] Por nostre seignor aürer. 860
Li sires del host vus somont,
Deu d'Israel, del ciel amont :
Faites bones les vostres veies,
Seient dreites [si] cumme reies ;
Seient netz les vostres curages, 865
Que vus ne vienge nuls damages ;
Vostre studie seit en bien,
De felonie n'i ait rien.
Se si le faites, dex vendra,
Ensemble od vus habitera. 870
Li filz de deu, li glorius,
En terre descendra a vos ;
Od vus serra cum hom mortals,
Li sires li celestïals.
Adam trara de [sa] prison, 875
Son cors dorra por raançon.

Post hunc veniet YSAIAS *ferens librum in manu, magno indutus pallio ; et dicat propheciam suam :*

Egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet, et requiescet super eum spiritus domini. 220

858. chi *MS.* maisnee *MS.* 859. donc entrez *G.* 860. aourer *MS.* ; Nostre seignor or aourez *G.* 862. de israel del ciel lamont *MS.* 863. les vos voies *MS.* 864. Soient droites cumme raies *MS.* 865. Soient netz les voz *MS.* ; li vostre curage *G.* 866. vus nen *MS.* nul damage *G.* 867. soient *MS.* 869. Si ensi *MS.* ; *emendation of G.* 870. ovec vus *MS.* 873. Ovec vus . . . homme *MS.* 874. le celestials *MS.* 876. rancon *MS.*

Or vus dirrai merveillus diz :
Jessé fera de sa raïz
Vergë issir qui fera flor,
880 Qui ert digne de grant unor.
Saint espirit l'avra si clos,
[39r] Sor ceste flor iert sun repos.

Tunc ex[s]urget quidam de sinagoga, disputans cum Ysaia, et dicet ei :

[JUDEUS] Or me respond, sire Ysaïe,
Est ço fablë u prophecie ?
885 Quë est iço que tu as dit ?
Truvas le tu u est escrit ?
Tu as dormi, tu le sonjas ?
Est ço a certes u a gas ?
YSAIAS. Ço n'est pas fable, ainz est tut veir.
890 JUDEUS. Or le nus fai donques veeir.
YSAIAS. Ço quë ai dit est prophecie.
JUDEUS. En livre escrite ?
YSAIAS. Oïl, de vie.
Nel sonjai pas, ainz l'ai veü.
JUDEUS. E tu coment ?
YSAIAS. Par deu vertu.
895 JUDEUS. Tu me sembles viel redoté,
Tu as le sens [tres] tot trublé.
Tu me sembles devineor,
Sez bien garder al mireor ;
Or me gardez en ceste main,

877. Ore *MS.* 878. fera creistre raiz *G.* 879. Verge en istra qui fra flor (*the word* flor *is written above* fruit *which is crossed out*) *MS.* 881. esspirit *MS.* 882. Sor iceste *MS.* *Instead of* sun *the MS has 3 strokes of which the top part is struck off.* *222.* Ysaiam et dicit *MS.* 883. Ore me respon *MS.* Ysaias *MS.* 884. ou *MS.* 886. ou est *MS.* ; *G places a note of interrogation after* tu. 888. ou *MS.* 889. voir *MS.* 890. Ore le nus faites donches veer *MS.* 892. En livre est escrit *MS.* ; En livre est cest *G.* 897. sembles viel meur *MS.* ; *correction suggested by T.* 898. Tu *written in the margin in MS.* ses . . . miror *MS.*

Tunc ostendet ei manum suam :

Si j'ai le cuer malade u sain ? 900

YSAIAS. Tu as le mal de felonie,
Dont ne garras ja en ta vie.

JUDEUS. Sui jo malade ?

YSAIAS. Oïl, d'errur.

JUDEUS. Quant en garrai ?

YSAIAS. Ja mes nul jor.

JUDEUS. Or comence ta devinaille. 905

YSAIAS. Ço que jo di nen iert pas faille.

JUDEUS. Or nus redi ta visïon,
Si ço est vergë u baston,
E de sa flor que porra nestre ;
Nos te tendrom puis por [un] maistre, 910
E ceste generacïon
Escutera puis ta lecçon.

YSAIAS. Or escutez la grant merveille,
Si grant n'oït [ja] mais oreille ;
Si grant ne fu onc mais oïe, 915
Des quant començа ceste vie :

Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium, et 225
vocabitur nomen ejus Em[m]anuhel.

Pres est li tens, n'est pas lointeins,
Ne tardera, ja est sor mains,
Quë une virge concevra,
E virge un filz emfantera. 920
Il avra non Emanuhel,
Message en iert saint Gabrïel.
La pucele iert virge Marie,
Si portera le fruit de vie,

900. cor . . . ou *MS.* 903. Judei : Sui jo donc malades *MS.* 904. Judei :—a nul *MS.* 905. Judei : Ore comence de ta *MS.* 906. di niert *MS.* *After* pas *the word* fable *has been crossed out in MS.* 908. ou *MS.* 912. Escuterai *MS.* 914. noi mais *MS.* 915. nen fu *MS.* 916. comenza *MS.* 918. tarzera *MS.* 919. concevera *MS.*

925 Jhesu, le nostre salvaor.
Adam trarra de grant dolor,
Et remetra en paraïs.
[40r] Ço que vus di, de deu l'apris.
Ço iert tot acompli por veir,
930 En ce devez tenir espeir.

Tunc veniet NABUGODONOSOR *ornatus sicut regem* [*decet*] : *Nonne misimus tres pueros in fornace ligatos ?* ℟ *Ministri : Vero, rex.* [*Nabugodonosor*] : *Ecce video*
230 *quatuor viros solutos deambulantes in medio ignis, et corrupcio nulla est in eis, et aspectus quarti similis est filio dei.*

Oëz vertu merveilles grant,
Ne l'oït hom qui seit vivant,
Ço que jo vi des treis emfanz,
Qui [jo] fis mettre en fu ardant.
935 Le fu esteit mult fier e grant,
E la flambe clere e bruiant ;
Les treis faseient joie grant
La u furent al fu ardant.
Cum jo regart le quart emfant,
940 Qui lor faseit solaz mult grant,
La chiere aveit resplendissant,
Sembleit le filz de deu puissant.

[INCOMPLETE]

926. Qui Adam *MS.* ; *correction proposed by G.* 928. Ico que vus di de deu lai apris *MS.* 929. E co iert . . . par veir *MS.* 931. merveille *before which* de grant *has been crossed out in MS.* 932. homme qui soit en vivant *MS.* 933. trais *MS.* 934. Chi fis . . . en foc *MS.* 935. fouc estoit *MS.* 936. cler *MS.* 937. trois emfanz fasoient *MS.* 938. ou il furent al fouc *MS.* *Between* 938 *and* 939 *the following couplet was interpolated in MS.* : Chantouent un vers si cler bel Sembloit li angle fuissent del ciel. 939. Cum jo men regart si vi le quartz *MS.* ; *correction proposed by S.* 940. Chi lor fasoit mult grant solaz *MS.* ; *emendation of S.* 941. Les chieres avoient tant r. *MS.* 942. Sembloient *MS.*

NOTES

18. In principio creavit. Sepet (*Prophètes*, p. 109) suggests that this *lectio* probably consisted of the chief lessons for the Sunday of Septuagesima, including thus the complete story of the Creation. The responsoria which follow, *i.e.* ll. *20*, *26*, *92*, *153*, belong to the same office.

20. Formavit igitur dominus. Responsorium which follows the first lesson at Matins on the Sunday of Septuagesima. The versiculus is : *Formavit igitur Deus hominem de limo terrae, et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae.* The responsorium after the third lesson is : *Formavit Dominus hominem de limo terrae et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae, et factus est homo in animam viventem.*

2. **De lum de terre.** The MS. has *de limo terre*, but as nowhere else the author mixes Latin with French in the dialogue, this passage and the *ubi es* of 387 are probably corrupt.

5. **Imagene.** The word *imágene* always counts as three syllables. The spelling *ymage* occurs in 409.

6. **Ne me devez.** For the confusion of second person singular and second person plural see Introd. p. l (*f*).

13. **Tu aime li.** The pronoun *tu* is often found with the imperative in our text. For other examples see Introd. p. xlix (*c*).

18. **N'est pas estrange.** The scansion of this verse has been discussed in Introd. p. liii. Perhaps we should read *Estrange n'est.*

28. **En ton cuer.** The MS. has *cors* ; for the confusion of *cors* and *cuer* see Introd. p. xxxv (*i*).

39. **Adjutoire.** The word appears to have become almost synonymous with 'wife,' 'helpmate.' Thus we find in the 'Fragments' published by Manly (*Specimens of Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, vol. i. pp. xxvii-xxxvii) :

> Yt ys not semely for man sine adjutorio
> To be allone, nor very convenyent.

60. **A folor s'apoie.** The MS. has *donc safoloie.* Foerster is inclined to retain the reading of the MS., connecting *s'afoloie* with O.Fr. *foloier*; but Suchier points out that the rhymes *afoloie* (=*afoleie*) : *joie* : *poie* : *oie* are impossible in our text, *ei* and *oi* representing different sounds (see Introd. p. xli (*a*)). His emendation *donc est une fol'oie*, 'then she is a silly goose,' has not been favourably received. G. Paris, among others, remarks that the German 'dumme Gans' has no counterpart in Old French (*Romania*, xxi. p. 280). Grass, in his last edition, adds: 'Eine Besserung der Stelle ist mir nicht gelungen.' With some hesitation I propose *donc a folor s'apoie*, which satisfies philological conditions and gives a satisfactory meaning. Examples of *s'apoier*, 'follow,' 'side with,' are numerous in Godefroy: *Mes il ne se volt pas a lur diz apuier* (Garnier, *St. Thomas*), *A cest consoil, dist Karles, est droiz que l'on s'apuit* (Jean Bodel), etc.

63. **A petit ues seit.** MS. *A petit vus soit.* The emendation was suggested to me by Prof. Baker. The meaning of the line is, 'of little importance be he (or let him be) who envies you.' As the context is a paraphrase of *Genesis*: [*Replete terram*] *et subjicite eam et dominamini piscibus maris, etc.*, Grass proposes to read *aprivoiez.*

66. **N'est pas lïez a pal.** Grass considers this line corrupt; but the expression, as it stands, is perfectly clear, *i.e.* 'he who has this gift is not tied to stake, or tethered' (=possesses full liberty of action). Godefroy (v. p. 702 (*a*)) quotes *deslier du pal*, which appears to mean 'free from embarrassment.'

68. **Seiet,** see Introd. p. l (*e*).

70. **E si od.** MS. *e ovec*, see Introd. p. xxxix (*v*).

83. **Mult par.** *par* is here an adverb of intensity or degree, not a preposition.

26. Tulit ergo dominus hominem. Responsorium which follows the fourth lesson at Matins on the Sunday of Septuagesima. The full text is: *Tulit Dominus hominem, et posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis, ut operaretur et custodiret illum.*

29. Dixit dóminus ad Adam. Responsorium not included in the Roman breviary, but which Sepet (*Prophètes*, p. 108) has found in a twelfth-century breviary of Saint Martial of Limoges; it

occurs in the liturgy for the Sunday of Septuagesima. The full text runs as follows: *Dixit Dominus ad Adam: De ligno quod est in medio paradisi ne comedas; in quacunque die comederis ex eo, morte morieris. Praecepitque ei Dominus dicens: Ex omni ligno paradisi comede, de ligno autem scientie boni et mali ne comedas.*

113–16. The authenticity of this passage has been questioned by Suchier. Elsewhere the author has always grouped decasyllabic lines in monorhyme quatrains, and has seldom made use of this metre in the dialogue. Suchier proposes accordingly to substitute the following octosyllabic couplets:

DIABOLUS:	Que fais Adam?	ADAM:	Vif en deduit.
DIABOLUS:	Estas tu bien?	ADAM:	N'ai que m'enuit.
DIABOLUS:	Poet estre mielz?	ADAM:	Ne sai coment.
DIABOLUS:	E vols le tu?	ADAM:	Iert mon talent.

But on comparison, it must be admitted that the version of the MS. is preferable (see Introd. p. lii).

138. **Fol jornal.** *Entrer en fol jornal*, 'enter on a foolish task,' 'act foolishly.' According to Grass, *jornal* is here not a subst. but an adj., and he translates 'become stark mad.'

140. **N'es tu en gloire?** In order to improve the metre, Suchier proposes *nez en gloire*, 'born in glory.' See Introd. p. liii.

144. **Senz nul entent.** The MS. has *sens*. In the word *entent* we have an example of substitution of prefixes (*en* for *a*) so common in Anglo-Norman, the meaning of the phrase being 'without any delay.' Suchier, however, proposes to retain *sens*, and translates 'meaning I understand none,' *i.e.* 'I can connect no meaning with what I hear.' If this interpretation be adopted, *n'entent* must be substituted for *entent*.

149–50. Exception has been taken to the rhyme *defens: mains* by Suchier, Foerster and Grass. See Introd. p. xl (*d*).

183. **Gardein.** This word is frequently met with in Anglo-Norman; it also occurs in East and North-East French, but apparently not in Francien.

186. **Altre honor te voldra atraire.** The meaning is 'surely God has some greater honour in store for you.'

208. **Dunge.** For subjunctive in *-ge* see Introd. p. l (*a*).

219. **Bien te poez creire a ma parole.** Suchier proposes to

retain the reading of the MS.: *Bien te pois creire a ta parole*, 'I can take your word for it.' But this hardly constitutes an answer to the preceding question.

257. **Quanque est a estre.** Critics are not agreed as to the meaning of these words; 'whatever has being' and 'whatever is to be' have both been suggested. See also Variants.

281–87. In the MS. this passage is very corrupt. See Variants. Moreover the scribe went hopelessly wrong in his division of the dialogue.

290. **E sei poser al deu halçor.** The correction was suggested by Grass, the meaning of the passage being 'he wished to place himself with the higher (or very high) God,' *i.e.* 'to place himself on a foot of equality with God.' Suchier proposes to retain *des* (= ? deis < discus) of the MS., and to read: *Soi poser el des halzor*, 'he wished to place himself on the higher throne,' *i.e.* 'on the throne of God.' G. Paris reads *al dois*, 'à la table d'honneur.'

294. **Que nus est prest.** In commenting on the German translation of *Adam* by Elisabeth Grahl-Schulze, Grass renders this line 'as no one is near' ('da keiner da ist'), but then we should expect *n'est* instead of *est*. I would suggest 'which is at our disposal,' or 'which is at hand.'

297. **J'en duit.** It is not clear what these words refer to. Grass connects them with v. 295, and interprets 'I doubt whether it is as good as you say.' In that case *lai le* which follows must be altered to *fai le* (or *faz le*), 'do it,' *i.e.* 'taste it.' Foerster, on the other hand, alters *J'en duit* to *Jel duit*, connecting it with v. 296, the sense being 'I fear it,' *i.e.* 'I am afraid of tasting it.' To which Eve replies *lai le*, 'leave it,' *i.e.* 'put aside your fear.' These conjectures, no doubt, have their merit, but a simpler solution might be found without altering the wording of the MS. The construction is rather loose, and Adam in *J'en duit* expresses his doubts as to whether he should ascertain the goodness of the fruit, while Eve, availing herself of the subterfuge which Satan had so successfully used against Adam (v. 120), replies peevishly *lai le*, 'well, leave it.' This at once has the desired effect. *Ne ferai pas*, 'I shan't,' replies Adam, for he is now as eager to eat the fruit as Eve herself.

298. **Fais tu que las.** An elliptical construction common in

Old French; literally the meaning is 'you do (or act) as a coward does.'

64. Induet vestes pauperes. The fact that Adam alone is referred to as having to change his dress led Luzarche to believe that the part of Eve was probably played by a woman. But Sepet (*Prophètes*, pp. 119–22) has shown that the evidence is too slender for such a conclusion. Except in nunneries, women's parts were invariably performed by youths. In the present case it is very probable, although the didascalia do not actually say so, that Eve, too, had to doff her beautiful white robe (*peplum sericum album*).

345–46. The passage is certainly corrupt, as is shown by the faulty metre and the rhymes *dreit* : *plait*. See Introd. p. xli (*a*).

347. **Memorie.** *-órie*, *-árie*, *-érie* were common Anglo-Norman endings for French *-oire*, *-aire*, *-eire*. About the middle of the thirteenth century the accent appears to have been shifted, the endings becoming : *-orie*, *-arie*, *-erie*. Cf. English 'memory,' 'glory,' 'gramarye,' etc.

371. **Cum a male ore.** Grass proposes to substitute for these words *cum mal vi l'ore*, and places a point of exclamation after them. Perhaps they should rather be taken with v. 373, and translated 'what a misfortune that ever you became my mate'; v. 372 would then constitute a kind of parenthetical clause.

379. **Por queil nomai?** The reading of the MS. is *por quoi le*, and no other example of enclitic use of *le* with *quei* is to be found in the text. Nevertheless both Foerster and Suchier recommend the emendation on the ground that in the twelfth century such contractions were still possible in a text written in England.

69. Dum deambularet. Responsorium following the first lesson at Matins on the Monday after Septuagesima. The full text is : *Dum deambularet Dominus in paradiso ad auram post meridiem, clamavit et dixit : Adam ubi es? Audivi, Domine, vocem tuam, et abscondi me. Vocem tuam audivi in paradiso et timui eo quod nudus essem. Et abscondi me.*

74. In collating the MS. Foerster omitted to indicate the beginning of folios 27^{r} and 39^{v}. Grass estimated that the former commenced somewhere between ll. *73* and *74*.

418. **Ele fist prime.** Foerster thinks that the use of *prim* as

an adjective is unlikely in so late a work as this, and proposes to read *primes*, as in v. 263. But *prime* is not impossible and occurs in Béroul's *Tristan*, v. 2554.

422. **Jo ai mesfalt.** In all other cases (343, 349, 461, 563, 681, etc.) our text employs the construction with *estre*.

435–36. For the rhyme *hahan* : *pan* (panis) see Introd. p. xl (*d*).

464. **Petit aquest me rent grant traüage.** 'A small gain yields to me a heavy toll [of sorrow].'

465–66. In the MS. these two lines constitute a couplet rhyming in *-ant*; but practically throughout the author has grouped decasyllabic lines in monorhyme quatrains. See note to vv. 113–16, and Introd. p. lii. Moreover, the word *merveille* in v. 465 might well have stood at the end of the line, a position from which it was removed by the scribe, because he failed to decipher v. 466. A rhyme in *-ant* was obviously more readily found than one in *-eille*.

467. **Ne semble pas öeille.** Grass renders *öeille* by 'sheepfold' (!), and *sembler öeille* by 'to be dumb' (!).

481–82. **Tu son talon aguaiteras, Cele te sachera le ras.** The first line is perfectly clear, but not the second. As Grass points out, these two lines (together with vv. 483–84) are a free rendering of Genesis iii. 15 : *ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus.* We therefore expect in the second line some reference to Eve's treading on the serpent's head, and Foerster suggests the verb *cachier* or *escachier* instead of *sachier*. But this does not eliminate the chief difficulty—the word *ras*, which can hardly mean 'head,' although, on the sole authority of Palustre, this meaning is tentatively accepted by Godefroy. Moreover, *Ta teste ferra d'itel mail Qui te ferra mult grant travail* (483–84) might be taken as a metaphorical rendering of *ipsa conteret caput tuum.* It is interesting to compare the text with the Prologue of Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*. In the latter, the words placed in the mouth of God are as follows :

> Si mettray continuel guerre
> qui entre femme et toy se tienne
> entre sa semence et la tienne,
> qui jamès ne terminera.
> La teste te soubzmarchera
> et t'espyra de l'esguillion
> souvent a ta confusion, etc. (vv. 783–89)

Might not *Cele te sachera le ras* have the same meaning as Greban's *et t'espyra de l'esguillion*, *i.e.* 'she will deprive thee of thy sting'? Prof. Baker suggests *cele te marchera sanz gas.*

84. In sudore vultus tui. Responsorium following the second lesson at Matins on the Monday after Septuagesima (cf. note to v. *69*). The full text is: *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane tuo, dixit Dominus ad Adam: cum operatus fueris terram, non dabit fructus suos, sed spinas et tribulos geminabit tibi. Quia audisti vocem uxoris tuae et comedisti de ligno, ex quo praecep[illegible] tibi ne comederes, maledicta terra in opere tuo.*

516. **Ne de tochier.** *Ne* appears to be redundant, or, according to Suchier, should be taken as an adverb rather than as a conjunction (cf. *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.* ii. p. 20).

92. Ecce Adam quasi unus. Responsorium following the eighth lesson at Matins on the Sunday of Septuagesima. The full text is: *Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est, sciens bonum et malum: videte ne forte sumat de ligno vitae et vivat in aeternum.*

524. **Glorie.** See note to v. 347.

533–34. As in vv. 465–66 (see note), the scribe was unable to decipher one of the lines (v. 533). In his endeavour to fill the lacuna, he introduced the new rhyme *petit*: *escrit* in the quatrain. But the awkward inversion in v. 534 shows that *estoire* originally stood at the end of the line.

549. **Sanz entent.** MS. *la ço entent.* Grass proposes to read *sanz entent*, 'without delay,' ascribing to *entent* (=*atent*) the same meaning as in v. 144 (see note).

578. **Del toen pecchié onc te ne pois retraire.** As an alternative, Grass suggests *Le toen pecchié onc te ne pois retraire*, where *retraire* would have the same meaning as in vv. 560 and 564, *i.e.* 'reproach.'

590. **Nus gietera.** The MS. has *Gieter nus voldra.* See Introd. p. xxxix (*t*).

123. Here begins the 'Second Act' of the play, that of 'Abel and Cain.'

603–4. Other ecclesiastical playwrights, in imitation of the present scene, direct the attention of the spectators to the necessity of paying conscientiously all tithes and dues to which the Church lays claim.

622. **Tres bien l'achat, ke dreiz est qu'il s'en pleigne.** The meaning appears to be 'he who begins a quarrel let him pay for it dearly, for it is right that he should have to lament.' Grass, taking exception to *tres bien* (but see v. 716) and to the absence of a grammatical subject in the principal clause (but see vv. 66, 111–12, 613–14, 715–16), proposes to read *Cil iert chastiez*, 'he shall be punished.'

651–52. The same idea is expressed more forcibly by Cain in the *Ludus Coventriae* (ed. Halliwell, p. 36):

> Amonges alle ffolys that gon on grownd,
> I holde that thou be on of the most,
> To tythe the best that is most sownd,
> And kepe the werst that is nere lost.

659–60. The rhyme *cuer* : *luër* of the MS. was certainly introduced by a scribe. See Introd. pp. xxxviii (*n*), and xlii (*a*).

665–66. By the removal of *de ca* in v. 665 a very satisfactory reading is secured. Grass attempts a more elaborate emendation (see Variants). He adds two lines to the text, but for some reason not stated he counts these two lines as one. From v. 666 onward the numbering of the lines in the present edition is one short of that in Grass's second edition. This holds good down to 938, where an interpolated couplet has not been counted.

678. **A grant relais,** 'very leisurely.' Grass translates 'after a long interval, soon after' (!)

691. **Vei ci qui fera la provence.** As an alternative reading, Grass suggests *Vei ci la main por la provence.*

709–13. Grass proposes to introduce here *oratio recta* in the place of *oratio obliqua* (see Variants).

716. **Tres bien l'empleie, pas nel pert.** According to Grass this gives no sense and should be altered as indicated in the footnotes, but the construction in the MS., if somewhat elliptical, is, none the less, clear. The meaning is 'he who serves Him [God] makes good use of [his service], and does not lose it.'

721. **Jo t'oscirai, jo tei defi.** Grass (*Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, 1912, p. 64) translates 'I will kill thee for I distrust thee' ('denn ich mistraue dir'). But the usual meaning of *defier* (*desfier*) in Old French was not 'distrust' but 'defy,' 'provoke,' 'attack.'

See for example 'Jo desfiai Rollant le puigneur E Olivier e tuz lur cumpaignuns,' *Roland* (ed. Gautier) 3775; 'Mar pueent estre que vus defierez,' *Chançun de Guillelme*, 113; 'Quant fu desarmez e dis foresters li urent defiez,' *Boeve*, 520, etc.

153. Ubi est Abel, frater tuus? Responsorium following the ninth lesson at Matins on the Sunday of Septuagesima. The full text is: *Ubi est Abel frater tuus? dixit Dominus ad Caïn. Nescio, Domine, numquid custos fratris mei sum ego? Et dixit ad eum: Quid fecisti? Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui Abel clamat ad me de terra. Maledictus eris super terram, quae aperuit os suum et suscepit sanguinem fratris tui de manu tua.*

739–40. The rhyme *tue* : *vie* of the MS. has been eliminated, as *u* and *i* do not rhyme in the text and the original has elsewhere always *occire* or *oscire*, not *tuer*.

742. **A set doble le penera.** *Pener* means 'incur or undergo punishment.' On the ground that this meaning is not recorded elsewhere, Suchier and Grass have questioned the authenticity of this passage (see Variants). Godefroy, however, quotes an example from Froissart of *pener*, 'suffer,' 'endure pain.'

159. Here begins the third and last act of the drama, *i.e.* the 'Procession of the Prophets.'

161. Vos, inquam, convenio, o Judei. These are the opening words of the pseudo-Augustinian Sermon, out of which the Procession of Prophets and ultimately the *Mystère d'Adam* were evolved. (See Introd. p. xii.) It is unlikely that the 'Sermon' was read from beginning to end, seeing that the latter part was acted on the stage. The lesson probably included the following section: *Vos, inquam, convenio, ô Judei, qui usque in hodiernum diem negatis Filium Dei. Nonne vox vestra est illa quando eum videbatis miracula facientem atque temptantes dicebatis: Quousque animas nostras suspendis? Si tu es Christus, dic nobis palam. Ille autem vos ad considerationem mittebat miraculorum, dicens: Opera que ego facio ipsa testimonium perhibent de me; ut Christo testimonium dicerent non verba, sed facta. Vos autem non agnoscentes Salvatorem qui operabatur salutem in medio vestre terre, adicientes in malo aïstis: Tu de te ipso testimonium dicis; testimonium tuum non est verum. Sed ad hec ille quid vobis responderit advertere noluistis: Nonne scriptum est in lege vestra quod*

duorum hominum testimonium verum sit? Prevaricatores legis, intendite legem. Testimonium queritis de Christo: in lege vestra scriptum est quod duorum hominum testimonium verum sit. Procedant ex lege non tantum duo sed eciam plures testes Christi et convincant auditores legis, non factores.

167–68. Genesis, xxii. 17–18. The sentence should end as follows: *omnes gentes terrae, quia obedisti voci meae.*

173–74. In the 'Sermon' the prophecy of Moses was slightly longer: *Prophetam vobis suscitabit Deus de fratribus vestris; omnis anima que non audierit prophetam illum, exterminabitur de populo suo.*

771. **Deus resuscitera.** The MS. has *Voldra deus susciter.* See Introd. p. xxxix (*t*).

179–82. The author probably borrowed these verses from the Latin play which he imitated. See Introd. p. xvii.

185–87. Psalms, lxxxiv. 12–13. In the 'Sermon' David recites a different prophecy.

190–94. Wisdom of Solomon, vi. 5–7.

198–99. Numbers, xxiv. 17.

203. This prophecy is taken *verbatim* from the 'Sermon,' and is apparently based on *Daniel*, ix. 24: *Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatae sunt super populum tuum, et super urbem sanctam tuam, ut consummetur praevaricatio, et finem accipiat peccatum, et deleatur iniquitas, et adducatur justitia sempiterna, et impleatur visio et prophetia, et ungatur sanctus sanctorum.*

207–09. This prophecy is also taken from the 'Sermon'; in the latter, however, the Prophet continues as follows: *Opera tua, Deus, Verbum caro factum est. In medio duum animalium cognosceris. Qui quousque descendisti, expavescere me fecisti; Verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia, in presepe jacuisti. Agnovit bos possessorem suum et asinus presepe Domini sui. In medio duum animalium cognosceris. Quid est in medio duum animalium cognosceris? nisi aut in medio duorum testamentorum, aut in medio duorum latronum, aut in medio Moyse et Helie cum eo in monte sermocinantium, etc.* As Sepet (*Prophètes*, p. 22) has pointed out, the prophecy is based on *Habakkuk*, iii. 2; but instead of following the Vulgate: . . . *Domine, opus tuum: in medio annorum vivifica illud*, the author of the 'Sermon' adopted

the version of the Septuagint : ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ, translating it by *in medio duum animalium cognosceris.*

844. **Qu'en grant poür li cuer m'en ovre.** The line is doubtful. The probable meaning, suggested by Grass, is 'that my heart works (*i.e.* beats) in great fear.'

845. **Dous bestes.** See above, note to ll. *207–09.*

847. **Cil de cui ai si grant merveille.** In her German translation of the *Mystère d'Adam*, Elisabeth Grahl-Schulze renders 'He whom I honour and admire' ('Er den ich bewundrungsvoll verehre'). Grass rejects this, and proposes 'He who taught me such a wondrous thing' ('Er der mich solches Wunder lehrte'). Neither is very satisfactory ; I would suggest 'He, concerning whom I have such wonders, or such a miracle [to tell].'

852. **Se fera as reis certain.** The subject is 'Christ' implied from what precedes, and the meaning is 'He will reveal himself to the kings.'

212–17. Jeremiah, vii. 2–3. In the 'Sermon' the Prophet recites another prophecy.

859. **Ceste porte,** *i.e.* the church door at which the Prophet would point in reciting these words. Instead of *volez entrer* we should perhaps read *enterrez.* See Variants and Introd. p. xxxix (*t*).

220–21. In the 'Sermon' Isaiah recites only one prophecy, the one given below *225–26.* On the other hand, in the St. Martial Drama (see Introd. p. xiii) we find :

Est necesse
Virgam Jesse
De radice provehi ;
Flos deinde
Surget inde
Qui est spiritus Dei.

This is a metrical version of *Isaiah*, xi. 1–2. The *Mystère d'Adam* reproduces the text of the Vulgate.

225–26. See last note.

228–32. This prophecy is taken literally from the 'Sermon.'

933. **Emfanz.** The poet probably wrote *emfant*, sacrificing the inflexional *s* to the rhyme.

938. The couplet which in the MS. follows v. 938 does not rhyme and is obviously interpolated.

942. The speech of Nebuchadnezzar is incomplete, v. 942 in the MS. being immediately followed, on the next page, by the *Dit des quinze signes du jugement.* The probable conclusion of the play has been discussed in the Introduction, pp. xix–xxi.

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The following editions of the *Mystère d'Adam* have appeared:

(L)[1] *Adam, drame anglo-normand du XIIe siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Tours,* par V. Luzarche, Tours, 1854.

This edition, limited to 211 copies, gives on the whole a faithful reproduction of the MS. Although Luzarche was fully aware of the many blunders and obscurities which marred the text, he did not venture to make any but the most obvious corrections, his object being to place the work within the reach of scholars and to supply them with the material for a critical edition.

(P) *Adam, mystère du XIIe siècle, texte critique accompagné d'une traduction,* par Léon Palustre, Directeur de la société française d'archéologie, Paris, 1877.

In a pompous preface the editor claimed the honour of having produced a critical edition which marked a great advance on that of Luzarche. Unfortunately he was little qualified for the task; and Gaston Paris cannot be accused of undue severity when he described the handsomely printed work as 'beau livre, mais sans valeur scientifique' (*Romania,* xxi. p. 275). The emendations contributed by Palustre are almost uniformly worthless and sheer guesswork, while not a few passages, obviously correct in the MS., have been unnecessarily altered by the critic.[2] The Modern French

[1] The letters in brackets are the abbreviations by which the works are referred to in the foot-notes to the text.

[2] For example: v. 29. imperative 'moi aime' becomes 'mei aim'; v. 57. 'tute ta vie' becomes 'tot' ta vie'; v. 170. 'or oez deduit' becomes 'aurais deduit'; v. 207. 'jo vois (vado)' becomes 'je veis'; v. 230. 'neif' becomes 'nief'; etc.

translation which accompanies the text gives the main purport of the play, but in points of detail it is calculated to lead astray rather than to assist the student.[1]

Das Adamsspiel, Anglonormannisches Gedicht des XII. Jahrh., mit einem Anhang, die Fünfzehn Zeichen des Jüngsten Gerichts, herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Grass (*Romanische Bibliothek*, vi), Halle a. S., 1891.

Based on a careful collation of the Tours MS. (by the late W. Foerster), this edition shows a distinct improvement on its predecessors; but, as Suchier and Tobler have clearly shown in their reviews, it cannot in any sense be considered final. Grass attempted to make such emendations as the context or the metre rendered imperative, taking for granted that the verses should scan according to the canons of standard French prosody. He relegated to an appendix the *Quinze signes du jugement*, which previous editors had printed as an integral part of the play, and contributed a detailed study of the rhymes occurring in the poem.

(G) *Das Adamsspiel, Anglonormannisches Mysterium des XII. Jahrh.*, herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Grass, Oberlehrer am Realgymnasium zu Düren (Rheinland). Zweite verbesserte Auflage (*Romanische Bibliothek*, vi), Halle a. S., 1907.

Apparently deterred by the mistakes which marred his earlier edition, Dr. Grass abandoned the idea of a critical text and practically reproduced the MS., while he discussed in copious notes the various improvements which he and others had suggested. Such an edition may satisfy the needs of the practised philologist, but it fails to meet the requirements of the average student. What is perhaps even more serious, it does a great wrong to the gifted, though anonymous, author of the *Mystère d'Adam*, by perpetuating blemishes for which careless or ignorant scribes alone bear the responsibility.

[1] Thus, v. 85. 'Jol tei comand por maindre e por garder' is translated 'Je te recommande donc de veiller à n'en pas sortir'; v. 116. 'Bien en iert mon talent' = 'En serai-je plus avancé'; v. 226. 'car la prenge seveals de tei' = 'Mais j'en prendrai de la tienne, moi, si tu le veux'; v. 269. 'sanz faillance' = 'sans interruption'; v. 383. 'Ne sai de nul prendre conrei' = 'Nous n'avons certainement pas agi dans notre intérêt'; v. 428. 'El te faldrat al fruit porter' = 'Tu en subiras les conséquences'; etc.

Apart from the complete editions described above, certain sections of the *Mystère d'Adam* have also been published in the following works :

Les Prophètes du Christ, étude sur les origines du théâtre au moyen âge, par Marius Sepet, Paris, 1878.

Numerous extracts are given from p. 129 onward, but the emendations embodied in them are valueless.[1]

Origines catholiques du théâtre moderne . . ., par Marius Sepet, Paris [1901].

This work contains (pp. 123–43) a modern French translation of vv. 113–314, 591–745, based on the version of Luzarche.

(B) *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, par Karl Bartsch, Ninth Edition, Leipzig, 1908.

In this edition, revised by Leo Wiese, extract No. 22 reproduces verses 205–386 of the *Mystère d'Adam*.

(A) *Specimens of Old French* (*IX–XV centuries*), by Paget Toynbee, Oxford, 1892.

Extract 25 contains verses 205–314 with a few unimportant corrections.

(R) *Chrestomathie du moyen âge*, extraits publiés . . ., par G. Paris et E. Langlois, 4e éd., Paris, 1904.

The extract (pp. 307–315) comprises verses 205–316, and is accompanied by a modern French translation. Paris normalizes the spelling, substitutes *oi* for *ei*, assumes vocalization of *l* before consonant, and changes *poi* into *pou* in spite of the rhyme *joie : poie* 57 : 58.

(C) *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français* (*IXe–XVe siècles*), par L. Constans, 3e éd., Paris and Leipzig, 1906.

Extract 51, apart from a few slight alterations, is identical with extract 25 of (A).

(V) *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur* . . ., von Dr. Carl Voretzsch, zweite Auflage, Halle a. S., 1913.

[1] Sepet attempted, not to correct the text, but to render it more accessible to the average Frenchman.

On pp. 141–142 the author has given a standardized version of verses 205–271.

A German translation of the whole work has recently been published by Elisabeth Grahl-Schulze, Kiel, 1910.

In criticizing this translation at some length (*Zeitschrift für franz. Spr. und Lit.* xl, 1912, p. 63), Grass has incidentally interpreted numerous passages of the *Mystère d'Adam*, supplementing thereby his own editions. Some of these interpretations can, however, hardly be defended; the more important ones are referred to in the Notes.

In addition to those mentioned above, the following scholars have also contributed valuable comments on the text:

(F) W. Foerster, mainly in 'Anmerkungen' added to the first edition of Grass, pp. 69–78.

(S) H. Suchier, review of the same edition in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, No. 18, Sept. 1, 1891, p. 685.

(T) A. Tobler, in *Literaturblatt f. germ. und rom. Philologie*, xii, No. 10, Oct. 1891, p. 342.

(M) A. Mussafia, in *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, xliii, Wien, 1892, p. 67.

G. Cohn, *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, xiii, 1892, p. 86.

For the history of the religious drama in the Middle Ages, the reader is referred to the following works:

E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, especially vol. ii. This work will be found, on the whole, generally reliable and most useful for practical purposes. It is unfortunate, however, that the author ascribes the *Mystère d'Adam* to the thirteenth and the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection* to the twelfth century (vol. ii. p. 75).

W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, vols. i–iv, Part I, Halle, 1893–1909, especially vol. i. A standard work on the subject.

For the English drama see also:

The Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. v, 1910.

A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle-Plays, Moralities and Interludes*, 4th ed., Oxford, 1904.

J. M. Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, Boston, 1897, etc.

For the French drama :

L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du théâtre en France au moyen âge*, 4 vols., Paris, 1880–86.

E. Lintilhac, *Le Théâtre sérieux du moyen âge*, Paris, 1904.

L. J. N. Monmerqué et F. Michel, *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, Paris, 1842. Another ed., 1885.

Several of the above mentioned works contain full bibliographies.

The Anglo-Norman dialect has been the subject of numerous articles and notices, an exhaustive list of which is given in :

E. Schwan and D. Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, traduction française par O. Bloch, Leipzig, 1913, p. 266.

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This manual contains a clear and full account of the phonology and morphology of the dialect.

The reader may also consult with advantage the Introductions to the following texts, especially the second :

E. Walberg, *Le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün*, Lund, Paris, 1900.

A. Stimming, *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Hauntone* (*Bibliotheca normannica*, vii), Halle, 1899.

TABLE OF PROPER NAMES

Aaron *177*.
Abacuc Habakkuk *204*.
Abel 611, 639, 667, 723.
Abraham 745.
Adam 1, etc.
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Chaïm, Chaym 591, 623, 723, 741.
Crist, Cristus 822, 833.
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Judé 857.
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Marie 382, 923.
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Seth *199*.
Ysaias *218* ; **Ysaïe** 883*.

GLOSSARY

Note.—An asterisk * placed after the reference number indicates that a correction has been introduced. The gender of substantives is stated only when it is apparent from the context.

Achaison *s.* occasion, reason 154.

achater *vb.* buy, pay 622*.

acointier *vb.* acquaint, tell 243; become acquainted, meddle with 421, 487.

acordance *s.* reconciliation 588.

adjutoire *s.m.* help 39, 533 (see note).

afoler *vb.* damage, injure 366.

agnel *s.m.* lamb 643.

aguaitier *vb.* lie in wait, set a snare 481.

aï *interj.* expression of grief or pain 357, 371.

aidier *vb.* help 380; *ait* 3 sg. pres. subj. 353.

aïe *s.* help, succour 336, 381, 510.

ainz *adv.* sooner, rather, but 167*, 224, etc.

aire *s.m.* race, nature; *de mal aire* 575, opposite of *de bon aire*.

aïrier, s' *vb.* grow angry 529.

alme *s.* soul 3*, 508, 602.

alter *s.m.* altar 635*.

amende *s.* amends 569.

amerrat 3 sg. fut. of *amener*, lead 853.

andui, ansdous *num.* both 14*, 16*.

apaier *vb.* appease, reconcile 631.

apareir *vb.* appear, become manifest; *apert* p.p. 162.

apoier, s' *vb.* follow 60* (see note).

aquest *s.m.* gain 464.

ardeir *vb.* burn; *arst* 3 sg. pret. 364; *ars, -e* p.p. 359.

asaier *vb.* try, test (Mod. Fr. essayer) 282*, 286.

ascute see *escoter*.

aseeir *vb.* establish, lay out (Mod. Fr. asseoir) 612*; *asis* p.p. 83, 794.

asis see *aseeir*.

asise *s.* verdict, decision (cf. Engl. assise) 796.

atraire *vb.* draw near, bring, bestow upon 164, 186, 553.

aürer *vb.* adore 860*; *aüre* 3 sg. pres. ind. 521.
autr'ier *adv.* day before yesterday 175*, 395, etc.
averer *vb.* come true 805.

Baillie *s.* power, possession 64*, 509, 515.
baillir *vb.*; *mal baillir* ill-treat, put in evil plight 366, 468.
bandon *s.*; *mettre a bandon* to surrender 610.
bargaigne *s.* strife, wrangle 621*.
bastir *vb.* cause 362.
beneïçon *s.* benediction, blessing 768.
benignité *s.* blessing 785.
blastengier *vb.* blame 559*.
bonaürté *s.* happiness 499.
bosoing *s.m.* need 53, 123.
brudler *vb.* burn 361.
bruiant pres. p. of *bruïr* burn 936.

Ceals *pron.* (see Introd. p. xli (*b*)).
celer *vb.* conceal, keep secret 215, 266.
celestial *adj.* heavenly 252, 874.
certain *adj.*; *se faire certain* manifest oneself, appear 852.
certes *adv.* certainly 153, 683; *a certes* seriously 888.
chaitif, -ve *adj.* wretched, unhappy 519, 551, 566, 571.
chaleir *vb.* matter, concern; *chalt* 3 sg. pres. ind. 117, 155.
chalengier *vb.* claim 495.
chalt see *chaleir.*
chalt *s.* heat 54.
chardon *s.* thistle 432, 545.
charnal *adj.* carnal, of the flesh 779.
chasement *s.* dwelling, abode, estate 107, 498.
chastel *sm.* castle 762.
chastier *vb.* admonish 628.
cheeir *vb.* fall; *chiet* 3 sg. pres. ind. 230; *cheeit* p.p. 318*.
chief *s.m.* head 488; end 504.
chiere *s.f.* face 941.
chois *s.* choice 65*.
clamer *vb.*; *clamer raison* lay claim 832.
cler *adj.*, *adv.* clear 307, 936.
clos p.p. of *clore* enclose 881.
comander *vb.* entrust 85.
comant *s.m.* command, order 408.
comfort *s.* enjoyment 102.
comperer *vb.* pay 110*, 584.
conoistre *vb.* recognize; *conustrai* 1 sg. fut. 43.
conrei *s.m.* help, assistance, means 383*, 485.
conseillier *vb.* advise 188; *refl.* seek advice 468.
conservage *s.* reciprocal assistance 23; 'same meaning as *conservitium* (Du Cange) . . . a preconcerted arrangement for mutual support made for the duration of a journey' (Foerster).
conte *s.*; *entrer en conte* settle accounts 394.

contraire *s.* harm, misfortune 576, 830.
contredire *vb.* forbid 414.
conustrai see *conoistre.*
copable, culpable *adj.* guilty 562, 568.
corage, corrage, curage *s.m.* heart, mind 37*, 234, 865.
corocier, curecier *vb.* make angry 214*, 380*.
corre *vb.* run ; *en curant* in a hurry 120 ; *corre sore* pursue, overwhelm ; *curt* 3 sg. pres. ind. 372* ; *coru* p.p. 520.
cors *s.m.* body 19, etc.
coste *s.f.* rib 17, 359, 361, 363, etc.
cotiver *vb.* cultivate 430.
coveitier *vb.* covet, desire 91*.
coveitise *s.* desire 605*.
covenir *vb.* be fitting, or necessary 254, 436, 472.
creance *s.f.* trust 217, 748 ; *en ma creance* trusting in me 743 ; *en ta creance* trusting in thee 719.
creire *vb.* believe 272, 280 ; *crerrai, crerai* 1 sg. fut. 7, 285, etc.
cresche *s.* manger, crib 849.
cruiz *s.* cross 810.
culpe *s.f.* guilt 565.
cumpainun *s.m.* companion 9.
curage see *corage.*
curant see *corre.*
cure *s.f.* care 80, 225.
curecier see *corocier.*
curt see *corre.*

Dampne deu *s.* Lord God 630, 654*.
dampner *vb.* damn 618.
deduit *s.* joy, pleasure 56, 113, 178 ; pleasant news (ironically) 170.
defens *adj.* prohibited 149 ; *s.m.* defence, prohibition 411, 470.
dehaitier (=**deshaitier**) *vb.* afflict 565.
delit *s.m.* delight, pleasure 90.
deliverat 3 sg. fut. of *delivrer* deliver 816.
delivre *adj.* free 330, prone 539.
delivrement *adv.* deliberately 412.
demener *vb.* torment ; *demaine* 3 sg. pres. ind. 370 ; *demener vie* lead, or spend life 57.
demore, demure *s.f.* delay 311 ; dwelling-place 333.
demorer *vb.* delay, demur 276, 298.
demostrer *vb.* reveal 848.
deport *s.* pleasure, recreation 101, 184 ; *sanz deport* without remission 506.
deporter *vb.* refresh 668.
descovrir *vb.* reveal ; *descovert* p.p. 216.
deserte *s.f.* desert, merit 450.
despois *adv.* after 505.
destorbier *s.* hindrance 694*.
desvé-e *adj.* mad, foolish 357*.
detraction *s.* dissension 608.
deu, deus, dex, deux *s.* God 166, 176, 182, etc.

deveer *vb.* forbid 152*, 431*.
devié *s.m.* defence, prohibition 403*.
devinaille *s.f.* prophecy 905.
devineor *s.m.* soothsayer 897*.
deviner *vb.* prophecy 444.
devise *s.*; *sen devise* without remission 606.
dilection *s.* love 607.
disme *s.f.* tithe 603, 657, 712*.
dit *s.m.* word, saying 877.
dolçor-*s.* sweetness 304.
dolent -e *adj.* sad, despondent 539.
doner *vb.* give; *donrai, dorrai* 1 sg. fut. 50, 451; *durra* 3 sg. fut. 785; *dunge, doinst* 3 sg. pres. subj. 208, 637.
dor, dur -e *adj.* hard, harsh 222, 320, 800.
dorges see *durer*.
dorrai, durra see *doner*.
doter, duter *vb.* doubt, fear 87, 314; *duit* 1 sg. pres. ind. 297.
dreit *s.m.* right, law 38*, 474*, 600*; *adv.* right, straight 19*, 409.
duaire *s.* dowry 552.
duit see *doter*.
dunge see *doner*.
durer *vb.* continue, last 86; *dorges* 2 sg. pres. subj. 740 (see Introd. p. l (*a*)).
dutance *s.* fear 275.

Eage *s.m.* age 98.
eir *s.* heir 758.
eissi *adv.* thus 745.
eissil *s.* exile, torment 507.
eissit see *issir*.
el *pron.* anything else 646.
embatre, s' *vb.* generally 'to rush, swoop down upon'; here possibly 'to hide' 390.
emfance *s.* childishness, foolishness 276.
empleier *vb.* employ 716* (see note).
enclin -e *adj.* bowed, subjected, obedient 35, 488, 579.
encombrier *s.* hindrance 331*.
encontre *prep.* against 796.
engendreore, engendreüre *s.f.* conception 779; progeny 584.
engignier *vb.* deceive 442.
engin *s.m.* deceit, trickery 243.
engruter *vb.* grow sick 88.
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